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HISTORY

OF THE

SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES,

ILLUSTRATED BY

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

BY

FREDERICK VON RAUMER.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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LETTERS
FROM
P A R I S.

LETTER I.

ADDRESSED TO LUDWIG TIECK.

To serve as Preface and Dedication.—Reasons for the Epistolary form of the Work, and the Scantiness of the Collectanea.—Friendly reception in Paris.—Distribution of the Materials.

I HAVE then in pursuance of your advice, and that of others, sent the letters of my journey to the press at Leipzick ; I shall, however, without doubt, give offence thereby to many. The publication of my historical researches in Paris requires less consideration, although I have been long in doubt as to the best mode and shape of bringing them before the public.

For neither was it possible for me to work scattered

and isolated passages into a connected history, nor could I without great diffuseness and extravagant loss of time, append the necessary supplementary matter. I therefore hit upon the idea of distributing my materials into a series of letters, which, indeed, but half deserve that title, but which present various advantages and conveniences. Thus, for example; that I can begin and end just where the relative quantity of my matter indicates, and in writing to you, can address myself as to a reader well acquainted with history, and competent to understand and classify everything without notes of explanation. In any case, you will recognize in the act of my dedicating these letters to you, a proof of old and faithful friendship,—though such be unnecessary.

With very few exceptions, necessary for the connection of the work, my communications are extracted from manuscripts totally unknown, especially from those of the Royal Collection at Paris. I found there so remarkable an attention to my wishes, such inexhaustible patience for my troublesome applications, that I must return my heartiest thanks to the gentlemen officially employed in that establishment, and especially to Monsieur Champollion Figeac, for having disclosed to me treasures, of the existence of which I was not aware.

If, nevertheless, my results be less extensive and

important than you, and others perhaps, expected, you must reflect, 1st, that some very illegible MSS. cost much time, and that others disappointed all expectation: 2d, that I could not altogether neglect the present times, important as they are: 3rd, that my time of labour during a stay at Paris of only five months, was much shortened by a sickness which threatened to be fatal.—If you take all this into consideration, and cast a glance over my letters relating to the present, I venture to hope, you will, on receipt of my last letter upon times gone by, bear me witness, that I have conscientiously distributed and applied my time.

With the exception of what I explored which bore reference to the history of the middle ages, and which I am about to use principally for my history of the Hohenstauffens, my researches have been directed to the most memorable passages of the history of the 16th and 17th centuries. I was, however, dependent upon the sources of information which presented themselves, and not in condition to fill up many intervals, much to be regretted. For the man, however, who (under the impossibility of discovering anything utterly unheard of in modern history) takes delight in individual transactions, and a more particular unfolding of divers occurrences, what I have to communi-

cate, in spite of its gaps and deficiencies, will I trust have some interest.

The order in which I present you with my results, is not unconditionally prescribed by the matter. My object is to place together, as much as possible, passages, which are naturally connected, yet to avoid placing the most valuable in front; that the continuation may not fall off in attraction compared with the commencement.

LETTER II.

THE ANABAPTISTS IN MUNSTER.

I AM entirely agreed with you in opinion that among the professors of each of the great sects of Christianity, noxious excrescences may shoot forth. This happens especially where principles, sound in themselves, enter into combination with false conclusions, and are pushed forward to extremes ; their assertors looking neither to the right nor left. After such fashion has the Catholic Church often fallen into tyranny ; the Protestant sometimes into anarchy. In the one case, Will reigned under the name of Law, in the other, under the pretext of Liberty. In no instance does the latter condition present itself in ruder deformity than in that of the Anabaptists, who, beginning with the rejection of forms of lesser importance, proceeded step by step, till at last they put forth a damnable phrenzy, and attributed to it all the pretensions of wisdom which was to redeem the world. In the 99th volume of the MSS. of Dupuy, there is a cotemporary letter in the Italian lan-

guage respecting their proceedings at Munster, which appears to me worthy of publication.

Although Munster (the letter states) is surrounded by the besieging forces of several princes, the Anabaptists defend themselves with obstinacy, and their sect increases day by day in Flanders, Holland, Frizeland, and Saxony, in the neighbourhood of Cologne, nay, in all Germany, after such fashion that we must fear the greatest disturbance and revolt. Some eight days after the city was invested, their prophet for the time being, (a tailor by trade,) John of Leyden, declared that he had a commission from heaven to be king of Israel and of righteousness, and to reign after the fashion of King David. At the same time, another Anabaptist, John of Warendorf, came forward, and declared, God had commanded him to be prophet in the room of John of Leyden; and as such, he predicted that John should go forth with an army, destroy and root out all other kings, princes, and authorities without mercy, but reign himself over the whole world. Accordingly, the new king began his sovereignty, appointed his chancellor, marshal, chamberlain, council, and every usual appendage to a court; kept a table on a large scale, and out of his eight wives, selected one from Holland, (the widow of a prophet who had fallen in battle,) as his queen; who immediately provided

herself with an extraordinary attendance of courtiers. Both, and in like manner their attendants, dressed themselves in silks and costly stuffs, mostly taken from the churches and the clergy. When the king rides out, he wears a suit of silver tissue, slashed, and lined with crimson, which is held together with buckles of gold. At his right hand, a page bears the bible; at his left, another carries the sword. One of these two is a son of the Bishop of Munster. The king's head is adorned with a triple crown of gold, richly ornamented; round his neck hangs a golden chain, to which a remarkable piece of magnificence is attached. It represents, namely, the terrestrial globe, over which a small cross of gold is suspended; near this are to be seen two swords, one of gold, the other of silver, and this inscription:—"King of Righteousness over the whole world." The queen wears a similar ornament.

For the purpose of audiences a great scaffold is erected in the market place, on which the king takes his place. Two steps downward at his feet stand the councillors. Whosoever makes any suit, kneels three times, and then prostrates himself in order to make his address.

At the reception of the Holy Sacrament about 4200 persons seated themselves at table in the great square of the Cathedral, and were served with three

kinds of food. The king and queen partook of certain hard baked pastry of flour, which they broke and distributed with these words : Take and eat, and proclaim the death of the Lord. In like manner they dealt with the wine, and the company passed on what they received, saying: " Brother (or sister) take and eat, and so as Christ has given himself for me, will I give myself for you, and so as this bread is baked of many different grains, and this wine is pressed from many different berries, so are we all assembled and bound together." Hereupon followed certain prayers and laudatory psalms.

The feast over, the king asked aloud whether all were ready to do the will of the Father, and to suffer for him ? All cried out Yea, Yea ! The new prophet then took up the word saying, His Majesty has command from God to send some of you forth to proclaim these wonders. The command of God (continued now a younger prophet) goes to this, that His Majesty must send deputies to the four towns of the realm. He read out accordingly the names of those appointed to the mission ; six for Hassenbroek, five for Warendorf, eight for Coesfeldt, and others for Soest. To every one the king gave a golden florin of his own coinage, and of the value of nine florins. The same evening they all started on their journey, and cried out every where with a loud

voice, "Mend yourselves and do penance, the time is short and the Father merciful; the axe is laid to the root, and ye shall perish like Sodom and Gomorrah, unless ye believe." Wherever the authorities caused these men to be brought before them, they cast their mantle on the ground, laid upon it one of their gold florins and said, "We are sent by the Father to proclaim the peace of God." If the inhabitants refused to admit, at their exhortation, a community of goods, these men bitterly reviled them, and said that the refusal was a contempt of their mission.

Some of their preachers have been taken, some of whom of their own accord, and others compelled by torture, have given information as to the fortifications of the town, and also have made disclosures as to their doctrine: according to the witness of the scriptures and all the prophets, those are righteous who hunger and thirst after righteousness with all their might, and are ready to die for it. Now, however, righteousness has not been preached to the people, and of four prophets two only are righteous, David and the Father; and two unrighteous, the Pope, and Luther worse than the Pope. If they are asked how they would shew their righteousness, since, against their own word, they have driven forth so many innocent persons from Munster, and laid hands on their goods, their wives, and children? they an-

swer; "Ye understand indeed to judge the face of heaven, but not the time. The time is come when the meek and the pious shall possess the earth, even as the goods of the Egyptians were once made over to the people of Israel."

Every one has in Munster from six to eight wives, with whom he lives till they become pregnant. Girls above the age of twelve are compelled to marry. Men who fail to live according to their duty with their wives, are beheaded: even the old women seek out husbands who are compelled to look after and provide for them.

The Anabaptists destroy churches and cloisters, for such are, in their creed, only the market-places of Baal. They hold, that without prophets, it is impossible to understand the scriptures; they reject the Emperor and all superior authorities except God; they wish to put to death all sovereigns on account of their unrighteousness; they apply many texts of scripture relating to our Saviour to their king, who occasionally, when he considers people to have offended, strikes off their heads.

LETTER III.

Granvelle's Remains.—John Frederick of Saxony and Philip of Hesse.—Maurice.—Investiture of the Milanese.—Charles V.—Ferdinand I.—Charles in Spain.—Francis I.—Eleanor his wife.

AMONG the richest and as yet almost unexplored sources for the history of the 16th century, is to be reckoned the collection of documents left by Cardinal Granvelle, and which are now deposited at Besançon, to the amount of eighty-four folio volumes*. The learned librarian of that place has the intention of editing the most remarkable of them in twelve

* Viz. twenty-four volumes memoirs, collectanea, letters, state manuscripts, &c., Granvelle. Eight of Morillon. Seven of Hoppers. One of the Embassy of St. Maurice in France. Five of Renard. Eight of Chantonmay. Eight of Champagnay. Three of Belfontaine. Two of Vergey. Two vols. for the History of Richelieu. Four Treaties of Peace and Compacts. One, Charles V. and Philip 2nd's Itinerarium by Vandenesse. A faithful summary of these MSS. prepared by the Abbé Boyzot of St. Vincent, is in the Royal Library at Paris. MSS. G. M. fourteen, two great vols. in folio.

octavo volumes. Pending the execution of this specially meritorious undertaking, we may be allowed to direct attention towards it by anticipation, and to impart two extracts out of the instructive journal* which Vandenesse, (a kind of travelling marshal to Charles V.,) composed as an eye-witness. They relate, the first to the meeting which took place between the Emperor and the wife of the Elector of Saxony after the battle of Mulilberg, and the second to the capture of the Landgrave Philip.

I. In the year 1547, the 24th May, the Electress received permission from the Emperor to come to him. The Margrave of Brandenburg and the Archduke of Austria betook themselves therefore to Wittenberg, to conduct her thence. She appeared in a carriage, in mourning, accompanied by her eldest son, her brother-in-law and his wife, and four carriages full of women all dressed in black. In the Emperor's tent were his brother, Duke Maurice, the Duke of Alva, the Prince of Camerino, and other princes and lords. As soon as the Electress approached, she threw herself at the feet of the Emperor, who however presented her his hand and caused

† Sommaire des voyages faits par Charles V. depuis l'an 1517—1551, recueillis et mis par écrit par Jehan de Vandenesse, controleur ayant suivi leur majesté dans tous leurs voyages.

his brother to lift her up. After this, one of her council presented her requests, which, among other matters, went to this, that her husband might not be carried away out of the country. Hereupon she was answered: His majesty at present was come to no understanding on these things*. The Electress fell once more on her knees, and prayed the Emperor might have compassion on her and her children. She was then conducted by the Duke of Alva to her husband, with whom she remained for somewhere about half an hour, and then returned to Wittenberg, which city the Emperor, on the next day, inspected within and without, and also visited the Electress at the castle.

On the 26th May the Elector was brought to the castle at Wittenberg, to remain there so long as the Emperor should abide in this neighbourhood. Five hundred Spanish arquebuziers under Alonzo Unio did duty as his guard.

On the 3rd of June the Elector took leave of wife, children, and the inhabitants, and returned into the camp of the Emperor. His second son accompanied him so far, made his respects to the Emperor, and excused himself that he had been unable, by reason of sickness, to appear sooner. He commended himself,

* Sa Majesté, pour le present, n'entendait à ces affaires là.

his father, mother, and their other children to the grace of the Emperor.

On the 4th of June, in the presence of the Electors of Brandenburg, the Archduke of Austria, and several princes and lords, it was proclaimed, that inasmuch as John Frederick, Duke of Saxony, had, on account of misdeed and high treason, forfeited the Electorate, and since his being taken prisoner had, by agreement, renounced the same, as well as the town of Wittenberg with its appurtenances, the Emperor, therefore, makes over the same on various grounds to the Duke Maurice, &c.

In his, Maurice's, name, answer was made, that he received the gift with thanks and obedience; that he had, however, never declared himself against the imprisoned duke in the view of succeeding to the Electorate, but only to serve the Emperor. Although the prisoner had been guilty of rebellion and disobedience against the Emperor and King, yet might the latter have regard to the prisoner's children. He, Maurice, thanked the Emperor, that the electoral dignity was preserved to the House of Saxony, and that he, the Emperor, had shewn grace to John Frederick, who had well deserved to lose his head. Hereupon the Emperor gave him his hand, and the Elector of Brandenburg pointed out to him his new place. On the following morning the Duchess left

Wittenberg, and the new Elector made his entry into the town.

II. June 19, 1547.—

The Electors of Saxony and Brandenburg had for some days past much entreated the Emperor to have compassion upon the Landgrave of Hesse. After Charles had consented, and the points of the treaty had been established, these two conducted the Landgrave, on the 18th of June, to Halle, and on the 19th, in the afternoon at five o'clock, into a great gallery, where the Emperor was seated on his imperial throne, under a golden canopy, and surrounded by princes and lords. When the Electors with the Landgrave had approached to within about eight paces from the Emperor, the Landgrave knelt down, with his hands clasped, and his head inclined to the ground. His Chancellor, likewise kneeling, read out the Landgrave's confession of his offence, and how he surrendered himself to the hands and pleasure of the Emperor for grace or no grace. When this reading was over, and while both Electors stood beside the Landgrave, the Chancellor Seld made answer: that the Emperor excused him, out of regard for the Electors, and in respect of their intercession, both from capital punishment and perpetual imprisonment, in accordance with the conditions set forth in the treaty.

Hereupon was the Landgrave committed to the

Duke of Alva, who conducted him to the castle, and entertained him, together with the Electors, at supper. Afterwards they brought him to a chamber under the guard of John of Grenarra, and two companies of Spaniards.

From the 19th to the 23rd, the Electors made great intercession with the Emperor for the Landgrave, who complained much of his durance, and after many devices and debates, (*devises et parlemens*,) the Emperor caused the Electors to come to him and read the whole treaty concluded between himself and the Landgrave. It ran, that he surrendered himself into the hands of his Majesty, to his pleasure and mercy, and that the Emperor excused him the capital punishment he had merited, in regard to, and in favour of the Electors, restored to him his confiscated possessions, and pardoned and remitted him his perpetual imprisonment, the which sufficiently shewed, that he was to be confined at the pleasure of the Emperor. The Electors acknowledged hereupon the failure of their plea, begged the pardon of his Majesty for what they had spoken, and acknowledged that the fault was on their side, the Emperor had fulfilled the conditions, and this they would maintain against whoever would defend the contrary.

Then the Emperor caused also the Duke of Brunswick, lately released from confinement, to come before

him, and be told how wrongfully he had acted in seeking aid from France, and in speaking and writing unbecomingly of the Emperor. Yet would the Emperor forgive him all, and restore him to the possession of his property.

The renewed contentions into which the Emperor fell with the Electors, on account of Philip's prolonged captivity, are well known. To this period of the contest belong also the difficulties raised by Maurice as to the investiture of Milan*, which the Emperor had made without reference to the States. Charles answers, June 7th, 1552†;—"After the great exertions and expenses which he had undergone, in order to protect the duchy against the tyranny of the French, it was not necessary to consult the princes."

Much of Granvelle's Remains which concern the Records, I shall give later. Other minor particulars I have pointed out in a supplement to this letter; they are only calculated for the purposes of certain learned researches, and have no claim on the general reader.

1515.—January 15. The States were convened at

* Disputed by Charles with France, on the death of Francis Sforza, in 1525, first by negociation, and then by arms. It was finally occupied by Charles, and confirmed to his son Philip by the treaty of Cateau Cambresis in 1559.

† Granvelle, iv. p. 128.

Brussels, and Charles V. was declared out of his minority* (emancipé) in the presence of his aunt, the Elector Palatine Frederick, and the Count Felix of Furstenburgh. The two last were present as plenipotentiaries of Maximilian I.

1517.†—Letter of Charles V. to Ximenes and Adrian. Several persons who had given evil advice to the Infant Ferdinand, are directed to be removed from him, specially the Commander of Calatrava and the Bishop of Astorga.

Before his departure from Flanders‡, Charles made a will. The 17th September, Charles embarked with his sister, and several lords and ladies, at Middelburgh, and reached Villa Viciosa the 29th September. The Cardinal Croy, who before the embarkation had been consecrated Bishop of Cambrai, received the archbishoprick of Toledo§. November 18, Charles entered Valladolid, and remained there till March 1518.

1519.—January 19. He journeyed from Sarragossa to Barcelona, and learned, on the way, the death of the Emperor Maximilian. January 25, 1520, he quitted Spain, and reached Cologne on the 4th May.

* Vandenesse.

† Undated.

‡ Granvelle, i. 65.

§ This appointment was one of the scandalous Flemish jobs which led to the dangerous insurrectionary movements in Spain, in the early part of Charles's reign.

May 17th began the insurrection at Toledo, and they seized the person of the Queen Mother, who however refused to sign what they laid before her.

1521.—April 27. Charles V. came to Dover. At Brussels he had received the King of Denmark, and soon after the Cardinal Wolsey, as a mediator.

1522.—July 3. Charles embarked from England, and reached Santander on the 16th. On All Saints' day, the general pardon was proclaimed at Valladolid, from which only twelve persons remained excepted.

1525.—The Emperor held, after the arrival of Francis I. in Spain, a great assembly at Toledo, at which were present, three English envoys, the cardinal legate, the envoys of Poland, Portugal, Venice, Ragusa, the Italian princes, &c.

September 18. Charles V. came to Madrid, in order to visit the King (Francis I.) reported by his physicians to be very sick. The following day arrived the Duchess of Alençon, whom the Emperor received half way down the stair, and conducted to her brother. Shortly before, the Margrave John of Brandenburg, Viceroy of Valencia, had died there.

1526.—February 18. Charles and Francis met at Torrejon, and remained there till the 20th. As soon as Francis was over the stream which separates France from Spain, the Sieur de Praet besought him

to confirm the treaty of Madrid. Francis, however, made difficulties, on account of which his sister was detained at Vittoria.

In Seville, the Emperor was informed that the imprisoned Bishop of Zamora had killed the commander of the place; the Emperor directed the Alcalde Ronquillo to proceed thither forthwith and do justice: and Ronquillo had the bishop hanged. From the instant that the king received intelligence of this, (on the 11th March,) he forbore to go to church, until he had received a pardon from Rome.

1542.—At the assembly of the States of Castille, in Valladolid, it was said by them,—their principal prayer to the Emperor was, that he would make no more journeys, or expose his person to such dangers as before Algiers, but that he would remain in Spain.

1545.—March 19.* The Queen of Hungary directs the Ambassador S^r Moris to communicate to the Queen of France her sympathy for the mortifications which she is compelled to undergo at the court. She would advise that the Queen of France should go to the King, shew him every kind of respect, obedience, and love, and pray him to communicate all his commands to herself, and not suffer them to reach her through others.

* S^r Moris, Ambassade.

1547.—April 22. Moris communicates the decease of the King of France; that his consort had little cause to be grieved, for he had treated her very ill.

February 21.*—The younger Granvelle writes to his father—"The Emperor has learned, by many reports, that the Elector, Joseph Frederick, has with him not more than 8,000 sickly infantry, and 4,000 good cavalry. The King and Maurice have together 19,000 (10,000?) infantry, and 6,000 cavalry.

I subjoin certain dates from Vandenesse:

1530.—February 22. Coronation at Monza.

1531.—November 23. Departure of Charles from Augsburgh.

1531.—December 17. In Cologne.

1532.—January 6. Departure from Cologne.

January 25. Arrival in Brussels.

October 4. Departure from Vienna.

November 13. In Bologna.

1533.—April 9. Embarkation at Genoa.

1535.—June 16. Landing in Africa.

1536.—November 15. Departure from Genoa.

December 6. Arrival in Barcelona.

* Granvelle, iv. 1.

LETTER IV.

Charles V. and the States; Diet of 1550.—Granvelle's Death.—Sickness of the Emperor.—Attempt to procure the elevation of Philip to the Imperial Dignity.—French Embassy in Germany.

WE have often, in our conversations on the subject of Charles V., agreed that his character had been represented after a one-sided fashion in some respects, by reason that historians have availed themselves by preference of the inimical narratives of French and Protestant writers. You will, nevertheless, think it natural in me to have exerted myself in Paris to enrich, out of French sources and manuscripts, my collections on the subject of the great Emperor, and the memorable period of his reign. Reports of the French Ambassador, Marillac, of the year 1548 and 49, promised a rich harvest*, but I found them written in so illegible a character, that neither my time nor

* Bibl. Roy. MSS. 8625. 8626. Mencken Script. II. 1391, has given some extracts from these.

eye-sight sufficed to decipher them. I found more legible the reports which Marillac (who was Bishop of Rennes, and afterwards Archbishop of Vienne) furnished from Germany in 1550*. They concern the relations of the Emperor with the States, the Interim, the Elector Maurice, and above all the plan for procuring for Philip II. the sovereignty in Germany, in addition to his other dignities.

The misunderstanding between Charles and the States first exhibited itself, in that very few of them attended the Diet of Augsburg in 1550; yet (says Marillac) he bears everything with wonderful prudence†. The King of France (he writes soon afterwards) must use his influence over the German States, that they may not give way to the passions of the Emperor. All Germany appears to have no other hope than that of escaping out of all difficulties by the king's assistance. Various princes and deputies of the States have openly declared to me, they could not sufficiently congratulate themselves, that the king was living in peace with all his neighbours, and had no occasion to direct his thoughts to any other subject than the one how he might best, directly or indirectly, thwart the plans of the Emperor. Already, a

* MSS. Brienne, 89.

† Report of the 16th and 29th July, 1550.

fortnight earlier, July 5, 1550, the King writes to Marillac:—the Duke Maurice has within these few days dispatched some envoys to me, to declare how he had in view to be my servant and entire friend. He has made me so many offers, that I can do no other than set store by them, provided always, they be holy (*saintes*) and sincere. He appears to wish nothing so much as to give me proofs of this, and promises to impart to me, through a confidential person, every thing which takes place at the Diet. — Marillac in his answer of July 29, recounts the means which the Emperor has at his disposal, for enforcing his will in Germany, and adds : Maurice still remains on his side, out of fear of the old Elector of Brandenburg, who might seize upon Magdeburg for his son. The Duke of Bavaria is son-in-law to King Ferdinand, and possesses no qualities worthy of a prince. His whole merit consists in drinking and dicing.

The greater part of the misunderstandings above alluded to sprang out of religious circumstances. The Protestants (Marillac writes, June 16) trouble themselves so little about the Interim, that they preach and proclaim their doctrine even in Augsburg. About the same time, (July 5,) Henry II. informs him : the Pope, in order to put off a decision on the general meeting of the church, and other matters

thereto belonging, has sent no legate or nuncio to Germany; but now, when he sees that all this serves only to further the interests of the Emperor in Germany, he is anxious to send some one into those parts of it, with which he has already some intelligence. Blank sheets will be given to his agents, to be used by them in matters tending to his purpose, and for the prosecution of many negociations already begun. King Henry, however, pronounces all this to be mere talk, and gives his belief that in fact the Pope is in an understanding with the Emperor in the whole business. It is certain that the Emperor was favourable to the assembling of the Church, inasmuch as the Protestants were opposed to it, and the French, openly or secretly, placed difficulties in its way.

The death of Granvelle was an important loss to the Emperor. This night (writes Marillac, August 28,) died Granvelle, of the effects of age and the dropsy, for which the Emperor has good cause to be very sad, for the deceased was an able servant, and possessed a wonderful dexterity in directing all relations and negociations to the advantage of his master*. The

* In the letters of Vergeys, (in the collection of Cardinal Granvelle, at Besançon,) vol. i., 1598, it is related that the Chancellor Granvelle had specially promoted the incorporation of the Netherlands with Germany. Charles V. contended that the consent of the States thereto was necessary.

Emperor (he goes on in another place) has ordered that Granvelle's funeral shall be celebrated with the greatest solemnity. All the states of the empire attended the funeral mass; the Duke of Alva conducted the children of the deceased; and the entire court of Charles, in deep mourning, (woollens alone, and no silks being worn,) joined the procession.

The Germans alone are glad, and think that the Emperor will find no minister who will understand to work so dexterously for the diminution of the liberties of their country *. Moreover, all the provinces together have not shed as many tears as the Germans have emptied bumpers of wine, accusing, as they do, in justification of their joy, the ambition and cupidity of Granvelle, and designating him as the most venal and unprincipled minister the Emperor ever had in his service. No less is King Ferdinand rejoiced at the death of Granvelle, because the latter had endeavoured to procure the imperial crown for Prince Philip.

The Emperor himself was, moreover, at this time of difficulties, so sick, that Marillac writes (September 9, 1550); It would be impossible to find a weaker and thinner man; and the body physician informs the Queen

* Philip II. at least found one to answer his description, in the son of the deceased chancellor, as the Netherlands experienced to their cost.

of Hungary, on October 22, that without a miracle Charles cannot survive six months. Some weeks later, (November 4,) Marillac acquaints his sovereign:—The Emperor has not only lost an uncommon quantity of blood by the hæmorrhoids, but the gout has also so attacked him in the hands, feet, shoulders, and other places, that he is obliged to keep his bed, without being able to stir. Public affairs do not advance a step. Soon afterwards, however, the last mentioned evil must have been removed. Marillac writes, at least, January 27, 1551:—The Emperor does not refrain, on account of his sickness of body, from working with his spirit in every thing in which his greatness and the profitable direction of affairs are concerned.

No affair at this time was nearer to his heart, than that of procuring for his son, Philip, in addition to the Spanish monarchy, all his German possessions, and the imperial crown. A plan, however, which found warm opponents in King Ferdinand, and his son, Maximilian, and which introduced division into the house of Austria, till the Emperor gave up the attempt.

A general view may best be taken of the march of the negociations, by our here inserting extracts from the reports of Marillac, which bear upon the subject, in their chronological order.

As early as the year 1549, (he remarks,) that Ferdinand is seeking to gain over the States partly by money*. The Germans believe that the King is entirely dependent upon them, seek (like a greedy people) to gain money, and think that the world united against them can do them no injury. The affair was pushed forward more actively in the following year. The Emperor, (says Marillac, in a report of July 29, 1550,) would fain bequeath all his states to Philip, but Ferdinand makes opposition, and maintains, that the Emperor has promised him never to raise his son to the dignity of King of the Romans. The matter was further discussed; Ferdinand, it was said, should receive Wirtemberg and other indemnifications, and marry his daughter to Philip, &c., but he remained obstinate, saying he had ever found in the Emperor so good a brother and lord, that he could give no belief to such insinuations. Were Ferdinand even consenting to resign the Romish crown, the Electors would choose, not Philip, but another. August 28, 1550. The Emperor's sister (September 9, 1550) is about to conduct Philip to the Netherlands, in order to make him accustomed to the manners of the country, and to bring about that the inhabitants may find him more to their taste

* *Sommaire de l'Ambassade, de 1549.* Dupuy, 745.

than do those of these parts ; for, the truth to speak, they are here so little edified with him, that were any change to take place, they would far rather call in the King of Bohemia and make him their sovereign. Nor would Maximilian on his part choose to bear the sovereignty of his cousin, or want support for his refusal, for he has the love of the country at large, being a prince of attractive qualities and great reputation ; Philip, on the contrary, is hated by all the Germans, yea, even by his own subjects and servants.

Simultaneously with these political negociations, festivals, and even a species of love intrigue, were carried on. Marillac writes, October 7 :—'The Princess of Lorraine is come to Augsburg, in order (as all the world and her own people say) to marry the Prince of Spain, who has a great inclination towards her. But as the Emperor altogether refuses his consent, she now finds herself as far from the fulfilment of her wishes, as she appeared, at the period of her departure from Lorraine, to be near it. Nevertheless, she refuses to espouse the Duke of Holstein, brother to him who kept her father prisoner.

Report of October 21 :—The Duchess of Lorraine wished to take her departure eight days since, but the tournament which the Prince of Spain had, out of love for her, set on foot, detained her till to-day.

Philip, accompanied by ten of a colour, tilted with ten of another colour in the great market-place, under the windows of the Emperor and princesses. All the ambassadors were invited to attend this festivity; but, to make the matter short, I must observe that worse lance play, according to the universal judgment, was never seen. Also, on a second occasion, (February 3, 1551,) Philip broke not a single lance, nor even once struck his antagonist. Just as little fortune as at the tournament, for the princess's sake, had Philip in his feasting with the German princes. Marillac writes, October 21:—According to the challenge of the Cardinal of Trent, Philip has given a banquet to the Electors here present, and also eat with them: he sought to shew himself in every respect a willing scholar, and drank twice, thrice, as much as he could bear, whereupon the cardinal, as his preceptor, observed, he took good hope that, if the prince should persevere in this course, he would in time win the hearts of the Germans. Since, however, such means of art as these failed to further the great object, they hit upon the conception of naming, as in the Romish empire, an emperor with emperors (Philip and Maximilian); upon which Marillac remarks, (November 27, 1550,) without taking into account that this would make the empire hereditary, the plan is at once impracticable, on account of the difference in character

of the two princes; and never would the active and restless King of Bohemia put up with the stupidity of the latter.

About the time, when the Emperor would so gladly have decided this important question, the party divisions of the Church once more disturbed him. Marillac writes, at least, November 9, 1550, and January 6, 1551:—'The Catholic Electors do not choose to attend the assembly of the Church, out of fear that, in their absence, a part of their subjects may attach themselves to the Protestants, and put an end to the spiritual rule. The Protestants, meanwhile, detest the interim, which has its origin with the Catholics, and pray for success to the contumacious city of Magdeburgh. It is true the Emperor has caused proclamations to be printed and posted against such conduct, but these are in all cases torn down in the night. He is well informed of every thing, but temporizes, and bears all with incredible patience, out of apprehension that, by contrary conduct on his part, a greater flame might be lighted in Germany. This pliancy so much the less conduced to the attainment of his purpose in the matter of the disposal of the imperial crown, inasmuch as the opposition in his family became more obstinate in proportion as his eagerness increased. January 20, 1551, Marillac writes:—The Emperor has had such hot words

with his brother, Ferdinand, on the subject of the succession to the imperial throne, that his indignation brought on him a fever, and he will hardly see the King of Bohemia; the Queen of Hungary also contended for a long time with her brother, and looked, as she came out of his chamber, so angry and heated, that all the world was aware how irritated she was. King Ferdinand kept his chamber the whole of the following day, and suffered no one to see him. The King of Bohemia did the same, and gave out that he was ill. The universal report ran, that Philip would forthwith return to Spain; and the Germans gave out aloud that they would have no Spaniard, while the Spaniards assured, that Philip would succeed his father. The next day, however, contrary to expectation, Ferdinand, Maximilian, and the Queen of Hungary, were observed to be cheerful, and it was thence concluded that the parties must have been reconciled.

That this however was not altogether the case, appears from the later reports of Marillac. Ferdinand and Maximilian (he writes, February 29, 1551 *) are

* Respecting Maximilian, Seld writes, November 4, 1564, to Granvelle:—He surpasses his father in genius and soundness of judgement. He is skilled in several languages, and understands Italian in particular. His respect for religion also deserves praise.

on the point of departure, the Diet dissolves itself, the Emperor is not likely to find another similar opportunity for collecting his entire family together, and the King of Bohemia, who has held out with head and heart against this first attack, will for the future be still less inclined to give way in a matter which so nearly concerns him, and which is so important. The Electors of Mentz and Treves are determined to have but one Emperor and one King of the Romans, a third would be out of all rule and superfluous. They reject the Spaniard. Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatine, are absent—a sign that they do not consent, and only wish to withdraw themselves from the instances of the Emperor.

Ferdinand (says Marillac, March 3, 1551) seeks to appease his enraged brother; Maximilian, on the contrary, seems to trouble himself little about the matter. He comes not into his father's company, nor speaks with him, except (March 10, 1551) once in every week, two or three words, when they meet in the Emperor's chamber; otherwise they see nothing of each other, whether in their houses, or at mass, or the chase, or any where. The Germans observe all this very closely, love the King of Bohemia all the better, devote to him their hearts and affec-

tions, out of fear of ever coming under the sway of another.

So far the diplomatic correspondence of Marillac of 1550 and 1551. Marillac was sent again to Germany with the Marshal Bourdillon in 1558, to gain over the States and raise the influence of France *. The instruction given to him runs (characteristically of the French policy):—He is above all things to gain over the councillors, knights, and servants, since these usually govern the princes; from twenty to twenty-five pensions annually of two hundred dollars each may be disposed of to fitting persons for this object. The ambassadors, however, found it not advisable to dispose of so much money, and assigned stipends for promises of multifarious services and of secret information, to only three persons, the brother of the Elector of Treves, a member of the Imperial Chamber of Justice, and an obscure doctor attached to the Emperor's court.

Sketches, furnished by the ambassadors of individual princes, would occupy too much room here. I will only mention, that they represent the Elector of Treves as a zealous friend to France; the Duke of Deuxponts as an astute man, and much respected;

* Bibl. Royale, No. 8628. Fol.

and that of the Duke of Wirtemberg, it is said, he is timid, lives retired, and wishes for nothing so much as repose, and not to mix himself in the affairs of others.

The Germans, it is said in another place, (page 251,) are not so eager in behalf of any thing they may have lost, as to be willing for its sake to set all to hazard. They forget easily, as was said of them two thousand years ago, the good and evil done to them. After mentioning the unhappy and debilitating religious dissensions, and the misunderstandings between the Emperor and the States, the ambassadors add:—Germany is in a condition in which it has enough to do to maintain itself, without seeking for business elsewhere. The slowness of the people, the complication of their negotiations, the length of their Diets, will permit us to place Metz, and the other cities we have won, in such a condition, that they must abandon all hope of ever recovering them—a prophecy which, alas, has been but too well confirmed by the event.

Even at that time the French were not wanting in these sophistical and flattering speeches, with which they have but too often deluded the short-sighted and credulous Germans. Thus was Ram-

bouillet *, a French ambassador in 1562, directed by his instruction to gain over the German princes, and to remind them how much the friendship and alliance of the French court had contributed to the security and upholding of the ancient and praiseworthy liberties of Germany.

* Brienne MSS., vol. 292.

LETTER V.

Account of the Venetian Badoer of 1558.—Of the Relations of Germany.—The Character of the People, the Princes, and the Emperor.

AMONG the Paris MSS. there is a long and very interesting report which the Venetian Badoer furnished to his government in 1558, upon the affairs of Germany, the character of Charles V., the princes, States, &c. I communicate the following extracts:—

The public buildings and the palaces of the princes in Germany are great and striking to the eye, but not magnificent in respect either of material or workmanship; the churches are larger in proportion, and so adorned and decorated, that they surpass those of Italy; the streets are long, broad, straight, and paved, yet so far incommodious, in that the kennels are in the centre. In almost all the numerous and extensive public places are fountains, which contribute to convenience and beauty. The soil is fruitful, and produces in superfluity of every thing for the use of man, yet I must speak of their victuals as coarse. No where are more artisans of all kinds to

be found, and among them the smiths are particularly distinguished and dexterous; silken wares, however, good hats, and some other articles of manufacture, are deficient. The richest merchants dwell in Augsburgh, Nuremberg, Ulm, and Strasburgh, such as the Fuggers, the Balzers, &c.; these drive a great trade, and conduct the greatest transactions in money and exchanges with kings and princes.

In every great town there take place annually two or three fairs; among these, the most famous is that of Frankfort, where people appear from all parts of Germany, from England, France, Italy, Hungary, Poland, and Russia. Many towns are free of the empire, some for great services rendered to the Emperor, some for money which they have paid to the princes, some through their own exertions in shaking off the tyranny of their masters, some by alliance with other powers, who, like themselves, were attached to liberty. In reverse of this, some have lost their liberty through bad measures of government, or the superior power of their neighbours. Upon the whole, the form of their government is popular, yet there are many differences in respect of persons, number, consideration, duration, and kind, in the constitution of the magistracies and councils; so much is clear, that neither the qualification of the individuals, nor the adoption of a particular

number, nor any other forms considered by themselves, would be sufficient to make their affairs prosper, but they manifest, all the while, the greatest solicitude for their liberties. Whence also arise their alliances among the towns, or with individual princes.

One cannot do otherwise, with respect to their criminal justice, than blame their tortures and cruel modes of capital punishment. We should be compelled even to censure the authorities as cruel and hard-hearted, if they did not allege in their excuse that the criminals of their nation have no fear of death in itself, but only of its manner and kind. Besides the general code of the empire, every city has its peculiar code, and, failing both these, they fall back upon the mere universal rules of law,—those, for example, of Saxony; and maintain that such perfect order is established in this matter, that they require no extraneous aid from the laws of any foreign community.

Upon the whole, the Germans have a national inclination for law and justice, are little disposed to covet the goods of others, and are prompt to keeping private compacts. They appear to be of resolute courage, but are rather to be called daring, and fling themselves sometimes almost with the recklessness of brutes into open dangers, and sometimes again avoid such from fear. They eat much, and drink more, on

account of which the German, when he is moderate, is immediately pronounced to be sick. The men are cold in love affairs, hot in quarrels,—the women discreet and modest. Covetousness is frequently considered in the light of activity in business, rather than as any thing disgraceful. Their dress, on which neither men nor women spend much, is of humble guise and ill-fitted, but decent. Every appearance of slavery, the slightest attempt to disparage or prejudice their liberties, is insupportable to them. Out of discretion, no simple citizen is accustomed to ride in the town; this is left to the nobles, or to the old and sick, or such as are in public employments. For a little matter they fall into anger, draw swords, and shed blood; but even as soon do they become quiet upon a peaceful summons, and drown their wrath in cups of wine. In converse they speak their mind without reflection, not always, it is true, with great courtesy, but without useless words. Towards strangers they are often rough, and in some other respects exhibit themselves as barbarians and inhabitants of a cold country, from which it follows that they are the less adapted for intellectual pursuits and developement of the understanding,—for which reason, also, they by preference addict themselves to works of manual skill, &c. The Elector Augustus of Saxony knows nothing, and chooses to know nothing

of war; he goes every day, yea, it is said, even on nights by torchlight, to the chase, and is also beyond measure addicted to women. Of the Dukes of Pomerania, little is to be said; they are weak, and have never put themselves forward. The Duke Albert of Prussia, of the House of Brandenburg, is a man of great bravery, who has, against the will of the Emperor and King of the Romans, robbed the great master of the Teutonic Order of all power, and made war with effect upon the men of Livonia, because they had sent back his ambassadors. The Duke Albert IV. of Bavaria has never done any thing remarkable, and is only fit for music, drinking, and gaming.

The Emperor has, as such, about 2000 florins revenue, which for the most part he receives by contributions of 50, 100, and 200 florins, from the cities and states of the empire. Besides this he receives something for his helmet, as it is called, his sword, his horse, &c. &c. It is incredible, and yet true, that the empire, as such, possesses not a florin of revenue. After the victory over John Frederick and the Landgrave of Hesse, the Emperor made a proposition to the Diet, that an imperial contribution should be levied for imperial charges, and a treasure set on foot; but the business went no further, the States fearing that the Emperor and the King of the

Romans, might apply the proceeds to their own advantage, or even to the raising war against the States themselves. The payment of the members of the imperial chamber is almost the only expense to which the empire is subject, and only on extraordinary occasions, (that, for example, of a Turkish war,) is a contribution levied, and paid into the military chest.

The Emperor Charles is of the middle size, well grown, and of dignified appearance. A broad forehead, blue eyes, expressing much intellect, aquiline nose, fair skin, the under jaw long and broad, on account of which the teeth do not shut well, and the last words of his discourses are the less intelligible. His front teeth are few and jagged; his beard, short and grey. His temperament is phlegmatic, with melancholy at the bottom. The gout has often severely attacked him in the hands, feet, and shoulders; but more severely ten years since than at the time when he determined to retire to the cloister of St. Justus.

In all his discourses and dealings the Emperor shewed the greatest veneration for the Catholic belief. He heard mass every day; was regular at prayers and preachings, caused the Bible to be read to him, communicated four times in the year, gave great alms to the poor, and was wont, before he

started on his journeys to Spain, often to hold a crucifix in his hand. In the perilous time of the Smalcaldic league, he was seen praying on his knees at midnight before a crucifix ;—and another time he suggested to the Nuncio, not to release the persons of his court, without very satisfactory reasons, from the obligations imposed by the church—for instance, in the matter of fasts.

The Emperor has been always a strong man, and one who required variety and high seasoning in his food ; he never kept himself within restraint, when he fell in with women, whether of the higher or lower classes. According to the report of his courtiers, he was little inclined to make presents ; and it is told of him, as an instance of his penuriousness, that he caused only 100 gold crowns to be paid to the soldier who brought him the coat of mail and glove of the King of France, his prisoner. Moreover, every soldier who swam the Elbe, before the battle of Muhlberg, received a new suit of clothes* and four crowns ; which many considered too little.

The Emperor called great assemblies of his counsellors, but consulted a few men of business. Gran-

* This species of reward for military exploits was an ordinary one in those times, and there are several instances of it in the Dutch war of independence. [Tr.]

velle had 'great influence ; and after him his son. During a press of affairs, he caused a confidential officer to make short abstracts, which were not, however, always sufficient for a full view of the subjects. In speaking to foreign ministers, he shewed great courtesy and patience, and answered so readily, courteously, and to the point, that he left them nothing to desire. Affairs were often, however, left entirely to the ministers, out of which great evils arose, since they were by no means always wise or disinterested.

LETTER VI.

Spinola.—Cossacks in the Thirty Years' War.—Bernhard of Weimar.—Marsfield.—Situation of France.—Lower Saxony and Denmark.—Wellenstein's levies.—His letter to Stenbielke.

ALTHOUGH Paris affords by no means such profuse materials for the history of Germany as for that of other countries, and my time did not permit me to seek out all accounts relating to that country, you will nevertheless find a place for some particular results of my researches.

A report of Marillac, of Feb. 26, 1551, to the King of France, contains the following accounts of an elder Spinola.

There is here, in Augsburgh, a Captain Spinola, who comes from Rhodes, and who is much esteemed for his knowledge in fortifications and engineering. I knew him in former times in the East, where he was a slave of Barbarossa, and much esteemed by him. At the time of the Smalcaldic league, he served under the Marquess of Marignan, as captain of artillery in the Emperor's service ; he afterwards served in Sicily, and lastly, supplied the methods and means

for the capture of the town Africa. In this instance he considered himself not sufficiently rewarded, in consequence of the jealousy of the Viceroy of Sicily, and was desirous to enter the French service. He promised nothing less than by his accurate knowledge of the circumstances of Sicily, to place that island in the hands of the king. With respect to artillery, he professes to be able to point out various improvements and savings of expense. In what concerns his compensation, he deals privately with the king, and will not admit of interference; but stipulates, that in the case of any remarkable service, he may be specially rewarded.

In the summer of 1662*, there arrived in the camp of the younger and famous Spinola, 3 or 4000 Cossacks; of whom Valareso writes,—“Many maintain they will be more useful to destroy than to fight.”

May 26, 1624†. Valareso writes—the Duke of

* Brienne's MSS., No. 89.

† Bernard, Duke of Saxe Weimar, born 1600, younger brother of Ernest the Pious, Duke of Saxe Gotha. He began his brilliant military career in the campaign of 1621, conducted by the Margrave of Baden Dourlach in behalf of the Elector Palatine. He served under Duke Christian, of Brunswick, against Tilly, in 1623, and when Christian IV., of Denmark, took up arms in 1625, for the Protestant cause, he received from that monarch the command of the cavalry, and shared the

Weimar is arrived these two days since in London

reverses of his army. He was reconciled to the Emperor in 1627, by the intervention of Wallenstein; but upon the arrival of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany, immediately joined that great man, and became one of his most distinguished officers. His dissensions with Oxenstiern were the occasion of his being invested with a separate command, and in 1632, he penetrated as far as the Tyrol, and was rapidly proceeding in the conquest of that country, when he was recalled to oppose the advance of Wallenstein. He was again, in the course of the campaign, detached from the main army, and conducted his operations with great ability and success. Having once more joined Gustavus, he was present at the battle of Lutzen, in which Gustavus fell. He then assumed the chief command of the Swedish army, though Oxenstiern, in opposition to the general voice of the soldiers, procured that the appointment should only be provisional. His subsequent exploits are too numerous and too brilliant for such notice as could be inserted here. His last campaign of 1638 was the most successful, and memorable for the defeat of the Imperialists at Rhinfeld, and for the reduction of that fortress, Fribourgh and Brisach, reputed three of the strongest places in Europe, and for seven victories in the field. His career was cut short by a fever in 1639, in the 36th year of his age. Sweden, Spain, and France were in turn accused of having brought about this premature decease, but without proof or probability. Of the generals of his time he was certainly only second to Gustavus. For chastity and religion he has been compared to Scipio and Bayard. He was

from Calais, and as yet has spoken with none but the envoys of the Palatinate.

May 3 and 10. He goes on:—Count Mansfeld *

ambitious; but his talents justified his ambition.—Valareso's Dispatch of July 22, 1622, B. II.; see also Schiller for his character. [Tr.]

* This was the famous general, Peter Ernest, Count Mansfeld, who opposed with so much energy and success the ambitious designs of the House of Austria in Germany; of whom Schiller says,

“ He of Halberstadt,
That Mansfeld, wanted but a longer life
To have marked out with his good sword a lordship
That should reward his courage.”

COLERIDGE'S *WALLENSTEIN*, Act II. Sc. XI.

He was a natural son of the illustrious German race which takes its name from the Castle of Mansfeld, in Upper Saxony. Educated in the Catholic faith, and legitimized for his military services in Hungary by Rodolph II., but having been, nevertheless, excluded from his family possessions in the Netherlands, he espoused, in 1610, the religion and the cause of the Protestants. In 1618 he commanded the Bohemian insurgents against the Emperor, and fought their battles with various success, but unexampled pertinacity and courage. In 1625, he invaded Germany with an army collected at the expense of France and England, (as adverted to in the text,) and supported by a system of pillage, which obtained for its leader the name of At-

has been received here with great honour*, and inhabits the apartment which was intended for the Infanta. The people say he wishes to remain in England, and bestow his treasures there. The Spaniards scoff at him, and think that bad fortune pursues him every where. The Venetian ambassador sought to persuade him that a great alliance would lead to nothing, and that they must put in motion the vacillating King James, but not mix up the French so much in the affairs of the palatinate.

Had Mansfeld remained longer, the difficulties would have increased daily, and what he executed in his affairs did not answer to the splendour of his reception. They sent him from Pontius to Pilate, and

tila. Defeated by Wallenstein, at Dessau, in 1626, he traversed Germany in order to join the Transylvanian leader of insurgents, Bethlen Gabor. Frustrated in this project by the conduct of the latter, he quitted his army, and endeavoured to effect his return to England by way of Venice. He was arrested by illness near Zara, and dying there, in 1626, in the fortieth year of his age, was buried at Spalatro. He is said to have breathed his last in full armour, and standing, supported by two of his officers. He was one of the greatest partizan leaders upon record. [Tr.]

* Vergey's Letters, Pt. II. (in Card. Gramelle's Papers) contain much respecting Mansfeld's affairs in 1622. It appears that he took money from France, and even negociated with Philip III. about entering his service.

left all at last to the decision of France. The Hollanders laid difficulties in his way, the Elector Palatine failed to stand by him, (perhaps on account of Brunswick,) the Spaniards worked against him in all ways, and the French ambassador has done him more injury than profit by the mixture of good and evil in his conduct towards him.

Upon the dealings of France in relation to the thirty years' war, the following letters of 1624 and 1625 contain some information *.

THE KING OF FRANCE TO HIS AMBASSADOR EFFIAT
IN LONDON.

Oct. 10, 1624.

I give the Count Mansfeld 60000 dollars monthly ; Venice gives 40000, Savoy 20000 †. As the whole alliance tends almost exclusively to the advantage of the King of England, he must expect no more from me. So soon, however, as the marriage between the Prince of Wales and the Princess Henrietta shall be actually concluded, I will consult and decide upon all

* *Negociations du mariage de la Reine Henriette d'Angleterre*, Vol. XLVIII. p. 4.

† January 4, 1625. Lomenin, however, complains that Venice and Savoy pay nothing ; and Effiat writes, on the 5th,—Mansfeld is very burthensome to the King of England, on account of the disorders of his soldiers.

these affairs on different principles, as the welfare of Christianity and my allies may require.

THE FRENCH MINISTER, VILLEANCLERC TO EFFIAT.

Nov. 24, 1624.

As much share will be taken in the affairs of the Palatinate and England as the good of France permits, who cannot involve herself in open and lasting war with Spain in a cause where she can look to gain nothing. For all the evil consequences may easily fall upon us, while the most fortunate result can only extend to hindering an increase of power to others. This is in itself important, but not sufficiently so that we should venture every thing for it, and convert the House of Austria, the Pope, the Catholic Princes of the League, and the Princes and Republics of Italy into enemies. It is true, some of them wish to weaken the stronger, but are not inclined to declare themselves openly, and least of all for a Protestant prince.

THE KING OF FRANCE TO HIS AMBASSADOR BLAINVILLE *, IN LONDON.

Oct. 22, 1625.

England ought to know that I am no feeble ally,

* Blainville's *Negociations*, Vol. LI. p. 117. *Chambre du Levant*.

and that I have, on her account, stirred up the movement in Lower Saxony. For Monsieur Des Hayes, who was in former years at the court of King Christian IV., of Denmark, has moved him to act, and I have promised him 600,000 livres up to Easter, and an equal sum for next year, if required. Monsieur de la Picardiere is now with him, in order to confirm him in his resolutions, and to encourage the States of Lower Saxony, as well as the Hanse towns, to come forward in defence of their liberty, and for the restoration of the Elector Palatine.

The earliest mention of Wallenstein occurs in a report of the French ambassador Pericard *. He writes from Brussels. February 28th, 1619.—The messenger from Brussels has brought a proposal to raise 1000 horse † for the Emperor at the cost of the Baron Von Walstein, without the Emperor, or the King of Spain, or the Archduke having a share in the transaction.

To this period belongs a letter of Wallenstein, of June 29, 1629, from Gustrow to the Swedish agent in Stralsund, Stenbeilke ‡. He speaks of the situation

* Brasset depesches ecrites durant l'ambassade de Bruxelles de M. de Pericard depuis 1616—1624. S. Germain, No. 1156, fol.

† Une levée de mille chevaux.

‡ St. Germain MSS. No. 1134. fol.

of Stralsund, and the sending back of the Swedish ambassadors from the negotiations for peace at Lubeck. This measure was grounded on the assumption, that any third party might otherwise have been able to prefer similar demands to those of Sweden; but in this case, negotiations for peace between two parties only were under discussion, viz., the Emperor and the King of Denmark. These required no mediation, and if the Swedes had any thing to communicate to the Emperor, their ambassador might apply to him or to Wallenstein, and would receive a befitting answer. Neither is there any ground for complaint that the Emperor dismisses some troops with which he can dispense, which Arnhim, at his discretion, marches to Prussia, and which take an oath of fidelity to the King of Poland. The Emperor and the King of Poland have been, of old, in friendly relation to each other.

LETTER VII.

Description of the Diet at Ratisbon. 1630 *.

THE Diet at Ratisbon of 1630, was of such importance to the political history of Germany, that its negociations and their results are recounted in all historical works which refer to that period. These works, however, contain little or nothing on the manners, usages, festivities, processions, &c., &c., although in other points of view, these are instructive and characteristic. I communicate, therefore, a report of an eye-witness, who seems to have observed the proceedings with no other view †.

The Emperor Ferdinand II. arrived on Wednesday, June 19, 1630, at three of the afternoon, in Ratisbon. Full two hours sooner, commenced the procession of baggage waggons, and the lower class of people attached to the court, till at last arrived the German and Hungarian carriages of state. With

* Held by the Emperor, Ferdinand II., on the occasion of Gustavus Adolphus landing in Germany. [Tr.]

† MSS. Dupuy, Vol. x., p. 180, in French.

them came many horsemen, chiefly Hungarian, on white horses, with manes, tails, and feet, painted red. The riders wore long coats of red or blue cloth, fitted close to the body, and fastened in front with buttons and cords, under which appeared a vest of damask, velvet, or satin. Their boots were of red yellow morocco, and the spurs fastened to the sole. The fur caps not turned up, with a long feather standing straight, a quiver hanging over the shoulder, a sabre with a silver guarded hilt, and no other arms. After followed the carriage of the King of Hungary *, drawn by six bay horses, postillion, coachman, halberdiers, and servants with heads bare, with cinnamon coloured coats turned up with red velvet. The pages rode at the side, only one standing behind each carriage.

Prince Ferdinand is about twenty-two years of age, slender, a long, lean visage, the lips thick, no beard, hair black, cut short to the head, with two locks after the Spanish fashion on the temples: dressed after the Italian fashion in gold stuff, with a dark ground. At the right hand door of the carriage was the first intendant of the household; in front, the first chamberlain. Next came the Emperor's carriage, four-cornered, open, resting on four pillars,

* Ferdinand, afterwards Emperor.

the roof of red leather, lined with red velvet, and drawn by six horses. The guard and household bare-headed, on foot, the pages on horseback. The Emperor sat forwards, and opposite to him the Empress. Both dressed in the Italian fashion, in a kind of silver stuff, with a blue ground and gold trimming. He bears the appearance of a man of fifty-five years, of very moderate stature, short beard, hair red mingled with gray, and somewhat hanging down in the German fashion. The Empress Eleanor, born Princess of Mantua, is thirty-five years old, fresh, cheerful, full countenance, black eyes; hands, teeth, and complexion, all excellent. The Emperor's daughters, whose carriage followed, are large, well grown, seventeen—eighteen years old, white skin and white hair, after the German fashion. The eldest, Anna Maria, is somewhat browner than the younger, Cecilia Renata. Eighty horsemen followed their carriage on white horses, and another troop of light horsemen, who had more the appearance of soldiers than of gentlemen.

The Lutheran magistracy of the city went out to meet the Emperor, dressed in black silk and short German coats: gold chains round the neck, and swords at the side. Six of them carried a yellow baldaquin, in the centre of which was to be seen the Imperial eagle. The Emperor would not, however,

make use of it, either because it rained, or because no Elector was there to accompany him, as was his due. Yet he staid for a while between the two portals of the great gate of Austria, partly to be there received by them, and partly to listen to the music stationed hard by, which struck up when the canons of the city ceased to fire. The armed burghers formed two ranks in the street, and it was forbidden to fire off a musket on pain of death.

In addition to many decorations of honour with which the streets were adorned, triumphal arches had been erected. The devisers of one of them had availed themselves of the three crowns of the Emperor, with the inscriptions,—*legitimè certantibus*,—and *inimicè erit*. These three crowns of Germany, Bohemia, and Hungary, are also to be found on the halberds or partizans of the body guard. On the second arch was represented a great Imperial eagle, which also bore on its breast the Austro-Burgundian arms. The inscription related to the Emperor's reception.

The Electors also came into the city in good order and pomp, at the head of their men. First, Maximilian of Bavaria, about fifty-five years old, his head pretty bald, his beard fuller, but red and grizzled. He is a very pious and moderate prince, of good knowledge in painting and sculpture; works himself in these arts, and speaks, besides German.

Italian, Spanish, French, Latin, Hungarian, and Slavonic. The Elector, Ferdinand of Cologne, is about fifty, but has as fresh and full an appearance as if he were only forty. His hair is still black, and he is not so low of stature as his brother the Elector of Bavaria. He wears an under vest of damask or light velvet, and over that a mantle of damask or strong taffety.

Every elector attended the audience of the Emperor. The Elector of Treves proceeded from his residence opposite the Lutheran church, to the great place, past the palace of the King of the Romans. At the head of his procession went twenty persons of the nobility, or otherwise of distinction, with heads covered; next the body guard in hoquetons or cassocks, part dressed walloon fashion, in dove-coloured and embroidered coats and mantles. Six pages wore stockings half turned down, coats of velvet brodered with gold, of the colour of the dead rose leaf, and satin hose of the same colour. The carriage, built walloon fashion, was of black leather without, and red within, studded with gold nails; the seats of red velvet, and the front curtain of red satin. The gentlemen were dressed in the old French or walloon fashion.

The spiritual Electors assert precedence over the lay; on which account the Elector of Mentz, al-

though he arrived only on the 25th, received an audience of the Emperor so early as eight o'clock the next morning. He had twenty or thirty gentlemen with him, dressed for the most part in the French fashion, but very warmly for the season, in heavy stuffs, strongly brodered with gold.

The following of the Elector of Cologne is less than that of his brother the Elector of Bavaria, but he himself shews more urbanity and courtesy. Lodgings for five hundred persons are bespoke for him, and it is reckoned that he will spend 400,000 crowns if the Diet last till September. His pages wear black velvet cassocks, (*roupilles*,) embroidered in blue and white; blue silk hose embroidered in like manner; brown mantles turned up with blue, and laced. He has a body guard, the half of which is dressed Switzer fashion, with blue and white *pads*, open worked stockings, coats of black velvet, mantles of black cloth turned up with blue velvet and adorned with blue satin. The mounted body guard has longer coats, ornamented in the same manner, and carry a partizan, or hooked battle axe, in the shape of a tongue, or a knife. The carriages are of black leather lined with black velvet.

LETTER VIII.

Thirty years' war.—The Elector of Saxony and Tilly.—Battle near Leipzig.—Oxenstiern, and Bernhard of Weimar at Paris.—Marshal Chatillon.—Discipline and rules of war.—Prisoners.—Brienne's Writings.—D'Avaux and Servien.—Trautmansdorf.

I HAVE found no continuous and connected series of accounts relating to the thirty years' war. Some isolated ones I here subjoin.

In the extract* of a diary of the campaign of Gustavus Adolphus, is the following. August 28th came three envoys from Tilly; viz., Furstenbergh, Metternich, and Cratzen, to the Elector of Saxony, and submitted to him what follows: He was collecting troops, said they, no one knew with what object. Inasmuch as the Emperor had been ever friendly to him, and disposed to protect him against his enemies, as well as in the possession of his ter-

* Extrait d'un Journal des Guerres du Roi de Swede mis par ecriit par un secretaire du Roi depuis 29 Mai, 1630, jusqu'en 1652, November 16. Dupuy, Vol. 468.

ritories, he ought to declare himself against the King of Sweden. The Elector answered: "My preparations are not directed against the Emperor, but against whosoever attempts to disturb me in my territories. I am, moreover, in nowise bound to give account to the Count Tilly, but will sufficiently justify myself to the Emperor. If he chooses to leave and maintain me in repose, he has nothing to apprehend, for I am armed only for the sake of religion and peace; but certain it is the Emperor has promised me much and performed but little." Hereupon answered Metternich: He could not believe that this was so. For rather was the Emperor now minded to secure the Elector in the possession of all that belonged to him. The Elector, however, had him be silent, for that he spoke lies.

Later, at table, the Elector drank to the health of Furstenberg and Cratzen, and said: "Your healths I can well drink, for you are soldiers and gallant men; but the health of that Metternich I cannot drink. He is a * * * and a priest's drudge. The priests have stirred up all this mischief, may the devil take them therefore. Metternich was very impatient at this, and would fain have departed, but his companions persuaded him to remain. As soon as they had departed, a trumpeter of Tilly's appear-

ed and demanded a final and distinct declaration ; the orders of the Emperor must otherwise be fulfilled.

Respecting the battle near Leipzig, I find the following, by an anonymous eye-witness *.

The battle began between one and two in the afternoon, and ended with nightfall. The Saxons, who shewed themselves the most, were also the first attacked ; but what with the howl of the Croats, the hailstorm of musketry, and the thunder of the cannons, they first fell into disorder, and then became disbanded, and fled five good German miles without looking behind them. In the moment when the Saxons were attacked, the same thing happened to the Imperial cavalry, who were charged by the Swedish. After one or two blows, the former were driven from the field. Then Gustavus Adolphus turned upon the Imperial infantry, which had pressed on into the Saxon camp, and with such force, that these brave troops were nearly destroyed. Tilly (who learned too late the defeat of his cavalry) was forced to fly with the loss of cannon, camp, and booty. Never did he find himself in such a party of pleasure. He received three pistol shots, on the right breast, the right side, and in the back, but they only passed

* Dupuy, Vol. xxxvi., p. 40, in French.

through his clothes and shirt. The balls were, however, flattened, and the places of his body injured. He received also several blows with a pistol on the right arm, and the nape of the neck, so that the barber who bandaged him, told me, he could hardly get over it. He fled five good leagues away, and then betook himself with the Duke of Saxe Lauenberg, and the Counts Furstenberg and Kronenberg, in a carriage to Halle, but without servants or other attendance. Pappenheim came wounded to Merseburgh; on the following day, he and Tilly betook themselves further towards Halberstadt and Wolfenbüttel, where they think to fortify themselves. The slaughter was great. The killed are estimated at from 10 to 12,000, the prisoners at 7000. The Swedes took 88 standards, 35 cornets, all the baggage, and 28 cannons; among these, six with the Bavarian arms, and six with those of the Palatinate, 48 pounders, of which each was drawn by 40 horses.

Respecting the residence of Oxenstiern and Bernhard of Weimar at Paris, a MS. contains the following*.

April 26, 1635. Oxenstiern had an audience of Louis XIII. He resided in one of the best houses of the city, which had been fitted for him in a costly

* Bibl. Royale MSS. No. 9552, fol. 12 and 18.

manner, and was waited upon by officers of the royal household itself, together with his own suite. The king drew a ring worth 12,000 dollars from his finger, and presented it to the Chancellor, and afterwards gave him also a box with his own portrait, worth 6000 dollars.

March 8, 1636. Bernhard of Weimar had his audience. The doubt, whether he should remain covered or not in the presence, he proceeded to clear up by his own authority, and was on the point of putting on his hat, when the king, who remarked this, took off his own in haste, and all remained uncovered.

In the writings and memorabilia of the Marshal Chatillon *, there is much various information upon the conduct of wars, discipline, and laws of war. The following are specimens:—

April 9, 1635. The king writes to Chatillon:—I hear that the greater part of the regiments which are come out of Picardy, are very weak and therefore not able to perform their duty; give them to understand my displeasure. On the other hand, Chatillon complains of want of means of subsistence, and negligence of commissaries; the peasants, in conclusion,

* *Receuil de diverses Lettres, Instructions, et autres Memoires de 1635.—1641.* 9 Vol. fol. Bibl. Roy. MSS., 9256—9264.

complain of the intolerable license of the troops, and that weak regiments cause as much to be supplied to them as if they were at their full complement*.

A letter of March 15, 1636, runs:—The peasantry determine, in their despair, to defend themselves against the military, and say aloud, as soon as they have sown their oats, they will leave every thing, and go where they can. And in truth, the half of the villages in Champagne are so wasted, that neither hay nor oats are to be found in them†. Robbers have made themselves masters of several châteaux, and make the roads unsafe; many troops are without officers.

Chatillon remarked, not without reason, that in the beginning of a war, and in a rich country, an army can well enough move without provisions, but not in an exhausted district‡; for which reason, the large army of Galla, in 1636, after two days' stay in Burgundy, suffered the greatest want§. For the winter of 1637, infantry and cavalry were stationed in the walled towns for the maintenance of order, the expenses of their quartering were apportioned among all those who were liable to taxes, the wants of the

* 19th April, 1635. 12th February and 7th March, 1636.

† 15th March, 1636; 10th April and 16th May, 1637.

‡ 6th June, 1637.

§ Vol. 9258.

soldiers were supplied, and they were forbid to help themselves to any thing.

Chatillon's army, after an inspection which took place at St. Germain's in 1638, counted 19,070 infantry, and 6,500 cavalry; but on the 1st of May, he found no more than 11,047 infantry and 3,059 cavalry. Every soldier who quits the army without leave, is to be punished with death, or at least with the galleys*. Only the commander-in-chief can give leave of absence. No absent soldier receives pay, and the carriages appointed for provisions, are not to be loaded with the officers' baggage.

July 18, 1639. Chatillon writes to the minister Desnoyers †:—I have found great want among the infantry. The pikemen are ill armed, for they have no corslets, and their pikes are weak and short. A third of the army is in general ill clothed, and has more the appearance of blackguards than of soldiers.

In a sharp order respecting discipline, November 29, 1639 ‡, we find:—The officers and soldiers keep their appointed pay, and receive nothing from their hosts but bed and bedding, room by their fire, and their light; they may not, under any pretext, demand wood or means of light, or any thing else in substance

* Vol. 9259, p. 27. † Vol. 9260, p. 3—9. ‡ pp. 262, 272.

or money, from their hosts or other inhabitants, upon pain of the penalties of extortion (concussion) to the officer, and death to the soldier.

All this was well and praiseworthy; inasmuch, however, as the pay seldom came in at the appointed time, the towns were compelled to make great advances, else the extortions began again, or the soldiers disbanded themselves.

On this subject, Chatillon writes to Desnoyers, September 2, 1640* :—Take measures that we be punctually provided for in future, otherwise the soldiers will absent themselves from the camp in search of provisions, and will be often a prey to the peasantry or the enemy.

The day after the above, September 3, the king communicated the following disposition to Chatillon:—As I see that the disbanding is almost universal in my army, and all the endeavours to watch the roads have hitherto failed to restrain the insolence and cowardice of the deserters, I hold the best means to be, to surround the army with posts of cavalry, under orders to arrest every one who absents himself without leave, that he may be punished as a deserter with the full severity of the law, before the whole army. Whoever suffers a deserter to pass, to suffer the same punishment.

* Vol. 9262.

In an order of August 26, 1640, we find:—Not only do the common soldiers desert, but their officers, who ought to set an example against such practices, quit their employments without leave, almost in the instant of their receiving them, as though they could in so short a time have attained the qualities of a true soldier, or escape the shame of having quitted king and country in times of danger, in order to sit quiet at home. On this account, the soldiers who absent themselves are punished with death.

The officers who quit the camp without a formal leave of absence, under the hand of the general, lose, if they are noble, rank and nobility for themselves and their descendants, and are brought on the list of persons liable to taxes. If they are roturiers, they lose their situations and come to the galleys, for a period to be fixed by the tribunals. All judges and authorities shall diligently seek out deserters within the sphere of their authority, upon pain of personal responsibility, and fine at discretion of the courts.

All light women to be whipped out of the camp, and those who have to do with them to be cashiered at the head of their regiments. Cursing and blasphemy to be punished with corporal chastisement, to be meted out by the judges; in the worst cases, the offender to have his tongue bored with an hot

iron.—These last regulations were found too severe, and were never reduced to practice.

An order of August 1639, upon the exchange of prisoners, settles:—Soldiers and officers of similar ranks shall be exchanged one against the other*.

Otherwise—

A captain of cavalry pays 80 Spanish pistoles.

Do.	infantry	60	do.
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A lieutenant		10	do.
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A cornet		10	do.
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A private, cavalry or infantry	2½	do.
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Servants, boys, women and children, are not liable to ransom. For his subsistence, a captain pays per diem sixteen, a lieutenant ten sous.

Among the Royal MSS. at Paris are eighteen volumes of the letters and state papers of the minister Brienne †, which contain, with respect to the time of 1643, among much that is uninteresting, much also that is attractive.

A letter of the Queen Anne, of September 25, 1693, upon the scandalous proceedings and intrigues of the Duchess of Chevreuse, and the grounds of her exile.

A severe reprimand of August 12, 1644, to D'Avaux and Servien, on account of their indecent disputes. They are admonished to lay them aside at all rates,

* Vol. 9260.

† Fond. Gaigmerès, vol. 510.

and even to forget and obliterate the recollection of them, as becomes men of their rank and condition.

Complaints, May 6, 1646 :—That the Swedes only seek their junction with the French forces when in want of aid, but at other times resort to excuses.

Complaint, June 22, 1646 :—That Trautmansdorf turns to the Swedes by preference, grants them many things demanded, but troubles himself not at all about the French.—For further and more accurate perusal I had not time.

LETTER IX.

Characteristics of Austrian Commanders and Statesmen.—Prince Charles of Lorraine.—Maximilian of Bavaria.—Louis of Baden.—The Counts Caprara, Stahrenbergh, Caraffa.—Prince Eugene of Savoy.—Count Zrini.

IT is known that Louis XIV. obtained, by means of able ambassadors, accurate intelligence respecting foreign courts. I should conjecture that the following traits of principal persons who possessed influence at Vienna in 1689, spring from such a source *.

* Bibl. Harleiana, No. 6845, fol. 144. -

The imperial throne was at this period occupied by Leopold I., and that sovereign was employing all the resources of the empire to oppose the ambitious designs of Louis XIV., which, in the ten years subsequent to the peace of Nimeguen, had fully developed themselves in the shape of multifarious insult and aggression on the empire. For this purpose Leopold had, in conjunction with Sweden and the principal members of the Germanic body, formed the league of Augsburgh in 1686. At the period adverted to in the text, the allies had derived recent and great encouragement to their designs from the success of the Prince of Orange in his invasion of England, and on the 12th May, 1689, the league of Augsburgh was followed up by an offensive alliance between the Emperor and the States-

The Prince Charles of Lorraine * is a man of General of Holland; England, Spain, Savoy, and Denmark, afterwards joining this great confederacy. The reduction of Mayence and Bonn were the principal fruits of the campaign of 1689, but an inadequate vengeance for the cruel ravage of the Palatinate, perpetrated by the French in the previous year. [Tr.]

* Charles V., Duke of Lorraine, born at Vienna in 1643, had passed his earlier years in France, but disagreements with Louis XIV. induced him to quit that country and enter the military service of the Emperor Leopold I. He served in the Turkish war of 1664, and distinguished himself by killing a Turkish officer in single combat, in the presence of the two armies. In 1674, he succeeded his uncle, Charles IV. of Lorraine, in that duchy. He held important commands in most of the campaigns against the French of this period, but his talents and valour did not enable him to recover possession of his hereditary dominions, occupied by France, and he was one of the few parties concerned on the side of the empire who did not profit by the treaty of Nimeguen in 1679. The year previous he had married the emperor's sister, the Archduchess Mary Eleanor, Queen Dowager of Poland. He took an active part in the campaign of 1689, and the reduction of Mayence and Bonn, achieved by him in conjunction with the Elector of Brandenburg, concluded his military career. He died on his journey back towards Vienna in the spring of the following year. Louis XIV. complimented him with the title of—*Le plus sage et le plus genereux de ses ennemis*. Other authorities, among them the Prince de Ligne, have borne high testimony to his military talents. [Tr.]

great and natural bravery, who makes nothing of the greatest dangers, and exposes himself to them without claiming to be noticed, and neither knows fear nor makes an ostentation of his fearlessness. He has much judgement, listens quietly to every man, and is pleased when people, whom he thinks intelligent, say to him what they think. He possesses a spirit of order, but no comprehensive views, and would conduct a battle better than he would draw up the plan of a campaign: very disinterested, of simple manners, averse from all pomp, loyal, pious, and a true and zealous adherent to the Emperor. As, however, no man is perfect, some errors are mixed up with his great and good qualities. He wants fire in his temperament, and is indeed so slow, that, unless very active generals be appointed to act under him, many favourable occasions of injuring the enemy may be lost. From the same cause arise disorders on the march, in the subsistence, the guards, and other particulars, which contribute much to the ruin of an army. The Prince is finally accused of a failing to which devout persons are sometimes subject, that of indulging aversions: by this is explained his persecution of the House of Baden, and the overthrow of the Prince Hermann; yet, in fact, he gave into these proceedings only out of weakness towards the views of his favourites.

In command he shews himself hard and severe, and as he does not burthen the officer with many orders, he exacts that those he gives should be punctually executed. He is not eat up with the lust of fame, but loves glory; he will never fix his constant attention on what may further his interest, or drive great alliances against France, or produce great plans of war, or procure the means of recovering his own dominions, but should others do all these things for him, he is much to be dreaded at the head of an imperial army. In a word, the Prince of Lorraine is a dangerous man on a day of battle; but it would seem not impossible to overthrow him before he can fight it.

The Elector Maximilian * of Bavaria is naturally

* Maximilian Emanuel, born 1662. succeeded his father in 1679. Distinguished for his services in the memorable defence of Vienna against the Turks, and generally in the campaigns of Austria against Turkey and France. In 1691 he was rewarded with the government of the Austrian Netherlands. His marriage with Maria Antonia, daughter of Leopold I., by Margaret, daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, gave him some pretensions to the crown of Spain, and his son, Joseph Ferdinand, prepared to assert them, but was prevented by an early death. Maximilian afterwards entered into treasonable negotiations for introducing the French into the Austrian Netherlands, and securing a portion of that country to himself. He was put under the ban of the empire, and deprived of his Bavarian

very brave, and war would never tire him, if there were fighting every day. Skirmishes are his delight, and he is unwilling to leave them in order to give his orders, as a commander must, in quarters where there is less firing. He would understand the art of war if he would apply himself to it, but at present he takes to no part of it but battles, assaults, victories, and their fruits. All the rest he leaves to his officers, troubles himself about no particulars, takes little care for his soldiers, neither rewards the worthy nor punishes the idle, and knows little of the conduct and design of a war in a large and general sense. His amusements are preferred by him to every thing; he fears all employment and exertion; those amusements are therefore limited to running after a mistress or a stag. He is indifferent about the finances of his states, but careful and watchful of the money which comes into his pocket. In short, he has courage and mind, and might be a great man if he would—but his will is to be doubted.

dominions by Joseph I., Leopold's successor, the battle of Blenheim having, in the last year of Leopold's reign, placed those dominions at the mercy of Austria. The treaty of Rastadt, which followed the peace of Utrecht in 1706, restored him to his possessions and he was afterwards so far reconciled with Austria, as to assist that power against the Turks. He died in 1726. [Tr.]

Prince Louis of Baden * is a thorough warrior, loves his calling, and bestows all his energies upon it. Ever ready, active, and in the case of being a great commander, if his arrogance do not injure him; for he listens to no counsel, and even when compelled to follow any, he does so late, and never without having altered some part of the scheme, that it may be believed to be purely his own device. He aims at the appearance of being easy to live with, but he is the reverse so soon as one ceases to pay him blind deference; seldom just in praise or blame, distributing both according to his interest, unfitted to conduct himself at court, free spoken, and offensive to his sovereign. Thus he possesses at once all the qualities for the successful conduct of an army, and for taking away from every one all inclination to entrust to him its command.

The Count Caprara † has got his military advance-

* Louis William I., Margrave of Baden-Baden, born 1655. He was also famous for his share in the repulse of the Turks from Vienna, and for many other campaigns against the Turks, the trophies of which are still to be seen at Rastadt. His services against France were scarcely less distinguished, though less uniformly successful. He died in 1707, having served in twenty-six campaigns, commanded at twenty-five sieges and thirteen general actions. [Tr.]

† Albert, Count of Caprara, born at Bologna 1631, nephew

ment through the interest of his uncle Montecuculi ; and as his fortune could only be made in war, has often shewn the courage which becomes a soldier of fortune. His counsels are always to the purport of risking nothing, and exhibit that degree of caution which belongs to fear. People of this stamp, without being themselves aware of the existence of such an origin to their motives, get a habit, out of fear and concern for themselves, of considering the most timid resolutions the best. He possesses the intelligence which is necessary to maintain him in good terms with the minister, to prevent him from being feared by the latter, or from exciting any general suspicion. It amuses him to see a camp sacked, and he loves to take his share in the diversion.

Count Stahrenberg is very brave, but bravery is a dangerous virtue to a commander when it is alone. He is fiery, quick to anger, and not more praised for his defence of Vienna, than he is blamed, on the other hand, for his bad conduct at the siege of Buda.

Caraffa, the leader of the cavalry, counts among his services the cruelties which he practised in Hungary, the sums which he extorted from the wretches to the famous general Montecuculi. He served the House of Austria in forty-four campaigns against the Turks and French, and was also employed in diplomatic transactions at the peace of Nimeguen and as envoy to Constantinople. [Tr.]

there, and the discovery of conspiracies which, as is said, never took place, but were worked to the profit of the Emperor. He is believed to be a man of great ability in levying contributions ; every one concedes to him much wit.

Prince Eugene of Savoy possesses great courage, more good sense than wit, and sufficient instruction. He strives hard to become a good warrior, and is very capable of attaining his object. Love of glory, ambition, and all the sentiments of a man of elevation, are peculiarly his own.

The Bavarian general, Count Zriny, has, in place of other qualities, much wit and cleverness, especially in forwarding his own objects and elevation. Thus he has found means to obtain the command of the Bavarian army, although the Elector does not esteem him ; to draw from the Elector yearly against his will 5000 dollars, and to persuade the Emperor that it is only through him that Bavaria can be held firm to Austria. He lives in close connection with the Countess Kaunitz, and only takes the field because a general cannot be absent from it when his sovereign is there. He is always ailing, even when with the army. They say he has a great talent for avoiding affairs in the field, without letting others perceive that he does so.

LETTER X.

Description of Denmark in the time of the Thirty Years' War,
by Torquato Pecchia.

ABOUT the time when a part of the imperial army had pressed forward, during the thirty years' war, to Denmark, Torquato Pecchia, maitre d'hôtel to the imperial commander, Torquato Conti *, drew up a description of that country, its constitution, inhabitants, customs, &c., and transmitted it to the Prince of San Gregorio. It deserves, on the score of its originality, to be printed entire ; in the mean time I extract some of the most attractive passages †.

In Denmark there are many villages, which, it is true, are not enclosed with walls, but have their own

* This officer was more distinguished for pillage than conquest, and his exploits in the former line obtained him the sobriquet of "the devil." He was the first to discover the talents of Mazarin, when serving under him in a military capacity in 1625 ; Conti at that time being in command of the Pope's army. [Tr.]

† MSS. Bibl. Roy. Vol. x. Relations Italiennes, Chambre du Levant, p. 219.

churches and pastors. If one of the latter die, his widow marries another, who, however, cannot enter on his vocation without the sanction of the king. Such a nomination, or confirmation, is requisite for all ecclesiastics and bishops. At present it is the duty of the General Conti, in the absence of the king*, to perform these acts; but as he is not inclined so to employ himself, he makes over the task to an officer of artillery. The whole land is thickly peopled, and all seem to be in good condition. For, without reckoning that on festivals they dress themselves very sumptuously, one finds no man so poor as not

* At this time Christian IV., who was born in 1577, succeeded to the throne in 1588, and concluded one of the longest reigns recorded in history, in 1648. At the age of twenty-two, he made a voyage round the North Cape in order to visit his dominions in Lapland, and provide against the encroachments of the Swedes and Russians in that quarter. His early intimacy with and patronage of Tycho Brahe, his fierce contests with a worthy antagonist, Gustavus Adolphus, and the great part which he afterwards took in the thirty years' war in behalf of the religious liberties of Germany, make him occupy a conspicuous place in history. His efforts, however, in the cause of protestantism were unsuccessful. The defeat of Lutter in 1626, cost him the possession of his dominions on the main land, which he only recovered by a disgraceful peace in 1629. It is to the period when the imperial forces were thus in possession of Denmark, that the description in the text refers. [Tr.]

to possess silver spoons and a silver cup. They are skilled in building houses of wood, thatched with straw, without using a single iron nail in their construction, so firm and well put together that they last a long time, and are proof against both wind and water.

The churches are remarkably handsome, have mostly five aisles, handsome towers, and bells. Many of the towns are on the coast, are well built, paved, provided with squares and fountains, and strongly fortified. Some roads are used only by the king, and those who pay a certain sum of money.

The gentry are so large of stature, that I believe St. Christopher came out of this country. The people are generally fair, light-haired, of good capacity, and addicted to the sciences. There is a preacher there who has a method of making wine out of water; of which wine I myself have tasted. He is about to go to Rome, to become a catholic, and means to wait upon your highness.

There is in Denmark a class of superstitious enchanters or conjurors, who dress themselves in a strange fashion, as appears from the drawings sent herewith. Most of them are at present departed with the king. As the country is very fertile, and within these hundred years has not been ravaged by war, it contains a good deal of wealth. The peasants are

obliged now to perform towards the military, services appertaining to the chace, which they formerly rendered to the king; and are compelled to undertake the charge of their dogs.

In Holstein there remained some families related to the king, and who connected themselves with their conquerors, but they are poor. The Duke of Gottorp on the other hand, is uncommonly wealthy, and possesses more territory than the Grand Duke, and well built handsome towns. The Imperial soldiers, however, oppress him and his so excessively, that he writes every day to their general Conti; prays, remonstrates, and begs for mercy; but the dog barks, and the ox grazes on.

All the inhabitants are Lutherans, and speak a language which is not entirely German, but mixed. When they speak, it sounds as if they were crying. In the islands of the neighbouring ocean, a language is spoken which no one understands. From want of wood, they burn dung and a sort of earth brought from the morasses which they call turta, and cut into the shape of tiles. Their victuals are dressed in a great kettle, into which they throw all the various articles, flesh, fish, eggs, &c., &c. In a similar manner they prepare their cheese, which, even when rotten, breeds no maggots.

Next the skin, men and women wear furs; and

the shirt and other garments over these. Their wooden shoes are made with great skill; the women's dress reaches only to the knee.

The horses are wilder than in other countries, and live almost always in the open air.

In time of peace one travels post, in carriages, in which, for the sake of greater lightness, there is not a single piece of iron. If one arrives at a morass, the carriage is taken to pieces with the greatest rapidity, and afterwards put together again.

In the island of Zealand there is a river, over which there is a bridge, and on one side there is a cavern. Every one is at liberty to pass over, but so soon as any one sets foot on the bridge, who intends any thing against the king, or looks to usurp the sovereignty, there rises from the cavern an alarum as though an army were approaching, and the bridge falls in. This has been seen and heard, has happened, and still takes place. In a certain part of the island, there are mice which, like so many devils, fly from the sign of the cross. If a ship approach this country, the mice spring into the water as if they were possessed.

All the inhabitants of this country are guilty of an unpardonable offence; they eat calves and other small (ungrown?) animals. The soldiers, men not

troubled with consciences, were so well pleased with this custom, that it became necessary to forbid the slaughter of calves.

When a bride and bridegroom came to be wedded, they both run to a goal, to which a bundle of straw is fastened. Whoever arrives first, possesses the sovereignty of the household, the man becomes the wife, and vice versâ. Out of the straw an hassock is made, on which the parties kneel in the church.

When any one dies, they do not weep nor lament, but laugh, eat, drink, and dance round the body, and lay valuables and other things in the grave, according to their rank and means.

Married women, guilty of unchastity, are severely punished. If a maiden become pregnant, her relations receive four dollars, and the king fourteen; by which process the honour of the party is restored, just as if nothing had happened. In the absence of the king, the General Conti causes these monies to be paid into his own hands.

In Norway are things of extraordinary beauty, and extremely worthy of wonder. For example, they have people there, who have thrown themselves into the sea, and found under the water, gardens, palaces, and other splendid things; and if any one has done

the same, thinking that his friend was drowned, he has found him sitting much gratified in a palace. In the same country they sell to ship captains, wind for certain hours in handkerchiefs. The handkerchief is loosened more or less as it is wished the wind should be stronger or weaker. I believe that these are illusions of the devil; but sure it is that what I tell is true.

I must give your Highness an account of a very beautiful custom which obtains at the court of the Duke of Gottorp. When in the evening at table, the lights begin to burn dim, a page brings a knife, spits upon it, wets his fingers likewise, lifts the candlestick up, trims the light with knife and finger in the presence of the Duke, sets the candlestick in its place, brings the knife back, and thus they manage all through the time of supper.

In Norway they travel on sledges, harnessed with rein deer. At starting the driver whispers in the beasts' ear whither he wishes to go, and then they run, without stopping, to the appointed place, and would rather be beat to death than go a step beyond it.

The *Sieur Torquato Conti* governs the conquered country with as great ease as though it were a village, with four hearths. The nobility wait upon him, and

the greater part have sworn fidelity to the Emperor. Things, however, came under notice which excite compassion; and I have seen soldiers drive the inhabitants like cattle before them, and beat them off the place with sticks.

LETTER XI.

Hannibal of Sehestedt.—Frederick III.—Gabel.—Swaning.—
Nantsen.

WHEN the Count Hannibal of Sehestedt was in Paris in 1666, they endeavoured to obtain from him accounts of all the circumstances of Denmark; and it would appear that Colbert caused the particulars of his verbal communications to be collected in writing. We find at least, in the 11th Vol. of the *Melanges de Colbert*, a long note on the subject, from which I extract the following.

King Frederick III.* is a man of great intelligence, who knows how to unfold all the reasons for and against a measure; but by this quality is often led to delay the progress of an affair, while he is coming to a conclusion. He is very sensitive in respect of his honour, and would rather suffer and risk any thing than equivocate or put up with any thing incon-

* Famous for his defence of Copenhagen against the Swedes in 1658, and for establishing the absolute power of the crown in Denmark. [Tr.]

sistent with his dignity. It is easy to bring him to any thing upon honourable principles, but never on meaner considerations, or by the prospect of money, albeit he is often in want of the latter.

He is well instructed, takes pleasure in conversation with able and learned men, is moderate and temperate, equable in prosperity and adversity, steadfast and brave, an enemy to violence, a friend to justice wherever he recognizes it, very reserved, so that he imparts little of affairs even to the queen and the princes his sons. The most conspicuous of his ministers and the Stadtholder of Copenhagen, is Christopher Von Gabel. He was in the king's service thirty-five years back, when, as a younger son, the king was forced to content himself with the Archbishoprick of Bremen. Gabel loves pleasure, and, as a German, is attached to the mode of life of his country, but is very prudent, silent, and quick in business. He is moderately well acquainted with foreign affairs, and well inclined to the Dutch. He has the art of finding out the inclinations of the king, and attaching himself to them. The king listens to him therefore, and loves him tenderly, but follows his own views in preference to those of his minister. If the affair is balanced, and the king undetermined, Gabel knows in that case how to decide the scale. At times Gabel is disposed to commit the burthen of affairs to others; he is very sensitive to the honour shewn to him and

his, and somewhat French in his way of thinking, like the king. He is not in great favour with the queen and the prince.

The Bishop Swaning of Zealand is much respected by the clergy, and on that account feared by the king; on the other hand popular, because he has contributed much to alterations in the government. He is a zealous Lutheran, and but for him the king would not only have granted liberty of conscience to the Catholics, but for the sake of increasing trade, would have granted freedom of public worship in some towns. Swaning is learned, of good judgement, bold, saving, moderately well instructed in the affairs of other countries, and one of those who are most inclined to an alliance with France. He might be gained.

The President Nantsen is a man without scientific cultivation; much beloved by the citizens of Copenhagen; much hated by the nobility, as chief promoter of the last alterations in the state. Bold, of great and sound understanding, inclined towards the French and Dutch, but without any particular knowledge of foreign affairs.

LETTER XII.

Philip II.—Charles Vth's instructions to him.—His character and habits.—Character of the Spaniards.—Ruy Gomez de Silva.—Feria, Mendoza, Vargas, Granvelle, Antonio Perez. Escovedo, the Princess Eboli.

THE accounts of the internal condition of Spain are less copious than could be wished, for the time of Charles V., but they are still more scanty for the later period of Philip II. Under the 3d and 4th Philips, history, indeed, resolves itself into a recital of court intrigues, which would be a small loss if they were suppressed. The period of Philip II., on the contrary, remains very remarkable as a period of transition, and even small notices of that reign and its working, cannot be unwelcome. Charles V. did not allow his son to want for good advice and careful education; but was unable by these means, to change his original disposition. In one of these instructions which are preserved among the papers of Granvelle at Besançon, the Emperor recommends

to him *, to fill the places in the Church with learned and moral men, to abide by treaties of peace and promises, to put confidence in the King of the Romans, and in contests with the Pope not to infringe upon the rights of the latter. "I have always," adds the Emperor, "done my utmost to be well with the French, but never could make friends of them."

The following is extracted from another instruction in the Spanish language†:—Support the true faith, suffer no heresy to enter the country, favour the holy Inquisition, and take care at the same time, that its officers do not abuse their power. In other respects do nothing which can in any way be considered as bearing it prejudice. Do justice without hate or favour, and when you feel that you have either hate or passion, sanction no decision, especially if it be in a penal matter; for, although justice be the virtue which keeps us upright with regard to every man, yet be mindful of the great mercies which Jesus Christ shewed to us. Practise and acquire both virtues, so that the one do not destroy the other; for either, pushed to an extreme, would be no longer

* *Memoires de Granvelle*, Vol. IV. p. 29; undated.

† *Instruction écrite de la main de Charles V. pour Philip II.* 1593, Bib. royale MSS. Archives des Pays Bas. Gouvernement en general. (P. B. 2.) Vol. II., p. 310.

a virtue but a crime. Be in every thing considerate and moderate, sociable and affable. With anger and rashness we can effect nothing. Love the good, guard against the wicked; be cautious how you credit the advice of the young, or the complaints of the old.—These follow very useful precepts for the regulation of employment and habits of life; the Emperor warns his son above all things, not to undermine his constitution by debauchery; and takes this occasion to treat the position of a successor to the throne as involving duties of the highest importance, which ought not to be left to chance, but to be undertaken with an union and preparation of all the powers both of mind and body.

Let us now listen to some eye-witnesses, upon Philip's habits and character.

Michael Suriano * says, the king is of delicate complexion, lives therefore by rule, and eats usually nothing but very strong food, never touching fish, fruit, or things which contain bad juices. He sleeps much, and takes little exercise; he is more inclined to repose than labour. Although he is like his father in face and speech, in observance of religion, and in kindness and good faith; he is, however, unlike him in many other respects, on which the greatness of a

* *Relatione di Spagna di Michele Suriano.* Dupuy, Vol. 136.

sovereign is essentially founded. The Emperor understood warlike affairs well, and took delight in them; the king knows little about them, and has no inclination that way. The other loved great undertakings; this one avoids them. The other conceived honourable enterprizes, and conducted them in good time, and to his own great advantage; this one undertakes nothing worthy of his greatness. The other never allowed himself to be forced by threats or fear to any concession; this one, on slight suspicion, has given up his states a prey to his enemies. The other ruled in all things after his own views; this one after the opinion of others; and yet, again, he has no respect for any nation but the Spanish. Spaniards negotiate, advise, govern, and, contrary to the custom of his father, Philip makes little out of Italians and Flemings, and less than all does he esteem the Germans.

Elsewhere Longlie*, a French ambassador, informs us:—The king is still so active, that all affairs go through his hands; besides this, he attends divine service regularly, goes out to walk with his children in fine weather, attends an hunting or fishing, &c. He prefers his country palaces and gardens to Madrid, having in the former more leisure and fewer au-

* *Vie et occupations de Philippe II.* Longlie Ambassades, Vol. 797. S. Germain. p. 109, probably the year 1588.

diences to give, which latter he loves not, and does not, indeed, positively refuse, but willingly postpones. The Infanta usually keeps him company, without, however, mixing herself in politics, or throwing in a word for any body, if it be not for one of her ladies at the utmost.

The following account, by the Venetian Badoer, of an earlier date, is more circumstantial *. King Philip is now thirty years old, of small stature and fine limbed. The forehead high and fair; azure eyes, tolerably large; strong eye-brows, not much parted; well shaped nose, great mouth, with an heavy, somewhat disfiguring, under lip, white and fair beard; in exterior a Fleming, but in haughty deportment a Spaniard. His temperament is melancholy and phlegmatic; he suffers from stomach pains, and side stitches, on account of which, by advice of his physicians, he goes much to the chace, as affording the best means of strengthening the body and ridding the spirit of melancholy thoughts. He hears mass daily, and on Sundays, sermon and vespers. He gives alms regularly, or on special occasions. So, for example, last year, in Brussels, when the poor were dying in the streets of cold and hunger, he caused bread, beer, straw, and fire-wood to be given

* In the year 1557.

out for 800 persons. They say at court, he asked his confessor whether his having done this could oppress his conscience ; it is certain, at least, that in such cases he has had many consultations with his council *.

As nature has made this king of weak body, so has she constituted him also of timorous mind. He eats sometimes too much, particularly pastry, and likes variety in his food ; with women he is intemperate, and likes to go about at night in disguise. His expenses in dress, furniture, liveries, &c., are not great. Out of doors he wears a mantle and cap ; often, also, suits cut in the French fashion, or with large buttons, and feathers in his cap.

He shews himself rather composed than passionate, and tolerates persons and pretensions of unusual and not very befitting description. He speaks sometimes with sharpness and wit, and loves jesting and nonsense. Yet he shews this disposition less at table where buffoons are present, than when in the privacy of his apartment he lets himself loose and is merry. He possesses a good capacity, and one equal to great affairs, but is not active enough to rule over dominions so extensive as his ; yet he may

* Badoer relazione. Colb. 5486. Bibl. Roy. 10083, (an eye-witness.)

be said to do quite as much as his weak body can endure. Petitions and reports, as they come in, he reads himself, receives them often into his own hand, and listens with great attention to every thing that is said to him. While doing so, he commonly avoids looking the speaker in the face, but casts his eyes to the ground, or turns them towards some other quarter. He answers quickly and shortly, point by point, but nevertheless does not decide for himself.

His dinner lasts but a short time. Before supper he causes reports of the most important occurrences to be read out to him, and the principal part of their substance to be noted down in the margin. When necessary, he calls the council together, or some of the high law authorities. He makes a point of having always skilful and experienced men in office ; but he is more suspicious of their fidelity than is seemly. He has no aptitude for warlike affairs, and has given himself no trouble to acquire any skill in them. In bodily exercises, tilts and tourneys, he has practised himself, more because the world and his subjects demanded it of him, than out of any inclination of his own. With respect to finance, the means of procuring money, and spending it judiciously towards a purpose, he is wanting in necessary knowledge. He loves the sciences, reads history, understands geography pretty well, and something

of painting and sculpture, in which arts he makes, at times, attempts of his own. He speaks Latin well, understands Italian and some French. In usual practice he speaks Spanish, but speaks not much at any time. Altogether he is a prince in whom one finds much to be praised.

His court may amount at present to some 1500 persons, of whom nine-tenths are Spaniards, the rest, Flemings, Burgundians, Englishmen, Italians, and Germans. At this court, one sees nothing of assassinations, treasons, robberies, and other such like good-for-nothing proceedings. In prosperity, the tone of the court is too elated; in reverses, too depressed. The inmates of the court evidently take more delight in variety of dishes and wines than in occupation or conversation, above all, however, in love affairs; for except the period of their actual attendance on the king, they pass almost all their time in dalliance; yet are they sharp lookers out for gain, and more than tenacious. They dress themselves richly, even with too much care, and keep a great number of servants. The Spaniards, especially those of humbler origin, are proud, fall into rages on account of insignificant things, and think that every thing is true which in their passion they picture to themselves. Where they see clearly that a lie would stain their honour, they are wont to speak truth.

Buffoons, and people who make a profession at the court of amusing others, are much run after. They love their own nation so much, that they cannot endure to hear any other praised; and when a thrust is made at one of them, the others come to his aid: envy, however, hate, and persecution, have sway among them at other times.

To the above may be added what Badoer says of the most remarkable persons at Philip's court. Ruy Gomez, a Portuguese, of the noble race of Silva, and brother to the Duke of Eboli. No one, perhaps, has been so great a favourite of his master as he. This affection originated in the circumstances that his mother was nurse to the king, and that he was brought up with the king as a page. Once, as Ruy Gomez was quarrelling with another page, and Philip interposed, Ruy Gomez struck the latter unintentionally on the head, and was therefore condemned to death by the Emperor. This sentence, it is true, was remitted at the intercession of Philip, but the culprit was banished from the court. Upon this Philip fell into such a melancholy, that the Emperor was compelled to recal Gomez from exile.

Ruy Gomez is now thirty-nine years old, of middle stature, well shaped, intelligent eyes, rich dark beard, a strong natural constitution, but weakened, as it seems, by incredible exertions, and pale coun-

tenance. He possesses so noble a disposition, that I believe nature has been so liberal to few. He has no taste, however, for science, speaks only Spanish, but understands Italian. He is in all his deportment pleasing, full of courtesy, and endowed with the certain natural gifts which create good will and respect towards the man who possesses them. In experience of affairs he is deficient, or has acquired any such very lately ; but his want of knowledge is supplied by the firmness of his purpose and his great abilities. He converses often and *tête-à-tête* with learned and well informed men, and introduces them to the king, and thus many determinations are made without advice of the rest of the council, and often against their opinion. Every one is welcome to him who wishes to serve the king, only they must not attempt to supplant himself from his position, like Alva, who sought to draw every thing into his own hands, though Philip had in his heart no inclination for him.

Ruy Gomez has no turn for war, and has never studied it or made campaigns, but by hearing much of it has learned to converse not badly upon it. He exerts himself in every manner to keep the king at peace with all his neighbours, infidels alone excepted.

Ruy Gomez overworks himself in business, and

takes too little sleep. For, in order to please the king and the court, he attends like others, plays, masquerades, tourneys, feasts, &c. Perhaps he looks to the king's service in the matter of his wife, who is young, and with whom he has not yet completed his marriage, unless it happened on his journey through Spain. It is matter of wonder that he should keep her removed, and not look to a posterity ; but he seems generally to spend small thought upon his fortune or his family.

Feria is kind, discreet, a friend of Ruy Gomez ; but without much knowledge of affairs.

Bernardin, of Mendoza ; severe, rapacious, envious, of great capacity, but a bad man, by turns abusing and flattering the king.

Granvelle, very rich ; but of less influence than under the Emperor.

Vargas, in the highest degree proud and choleric ; a man of affairs, but who does not look to what is right, but to what is near his heart on other grounds. He has been accused of having accepted bribes to conceal the tyrannies of John de Vega, Viceroy of Sicily.

Upon the relations of the king to the princess Eboli, de Vair tells us, probably after the account of Antonio Perez : the king made court to the princess, and sent her presents through Antonio Perez, who

however pursued the affair more to his own profit than that of the king. Escovedo discovered this, and reproached Perez with it. In order to be beforehand with him, Perez told the king, "Escovedo stood in his way with the princess; if the king would cause Escovedo to be killed, and his papers to be seized, great discoveries would be made of the plans of Duke John of Austria."* The king gave the order in writing, Escovedo was killed, and all that he left behind him seized. Duke John hoped to become king of Spain, Philip at that time having no son. (Jan. 13, 1580.) St. Goar, the French ambassador, writes:—Perez is so watched in his house, that no one can see or speak with him, and the Princess Eboli is also still treated with all possible severity†.

These disgraceful intrigues and animosities ended with the escape of Perez to France. A voluminous collection of his letters, written thence, contains no new revelations, but I extract the following. In accordance with his prayer of Jan. 1, 1597, the king of France took him under his protection, and promised to use his influence that either he or his son should receive a cardinal's hat‡. As soon as possible

* Le Roi fit le billet. Dupuis, 651.

† St. Germain, vol. 794.

‡ Ant. Perez. Lettres Bib. roy. 9141, lettre 3. His wife dared not write to him from Spain, and begged him to return,

an income of 12,000 dollars should be assigned to him, or ecclesiastical estates and dignities, with an instruction to make it over to one of his sons. In the mean time he is to receive an income of 4000, or, if possible, 6000 dollars. Besides this he receives assistance towards his establishment as a counsellor of state, to which office the king appoints him, and a couple of Switzers as a guard for his person, against the attempts of the king of Spain. In treating for peace with Spain, the restoration of his property and the liberation of his family shall be stipulated. After they had learnt to know Perez better, and many hopes which were fixed upon him or had been excited by him had come to nothing, the above promises were not, as he complains, fulfilled; in reply to which complaint it was alleged that he maintained forbidden correspondence with England. He was not respected either in France or England, and Villeroy writes, Jan. 17, to Beaumont, the French ambassador in London: "Take you care that Perez win not by his usual flatteries the hearts of the courtiers and women, in order, as he hopes, to do such service to the king of Spain at the conclusion of peace, that his restoration to his property and

that her sufferings might be ended. Another time, Perez prays him, p. 9, *afirmar de assiento en el servicio del Re, di retirarme a un rincón a morir.*

employments may be granted him. I have never seen so much vanity and imprudence mixed up with presumption (*outrécuidance*) as in Antonio Perez, for the period which he has spent with us."

LETTER XIII.

Court Establishment of Philip II. and his Queen.—Finances.
—Arragon.

AMONG the MSS. of the Royal Library at Paris, are two descriptions of the Spanish Court in the year 1556 *. The following are extracts :

The intendant of the royal household and the Duke of Alva have, since the death of the Count of Nassau, the superintendence and direction of the entire royal establishment. Next under these come four or five major domos, to whom the main branches of business are specially assigned. Then follows a considerable number of gentlemen of the table, who, in an appointed order of succession, perform all the duties of their function, bring up dishes, carve, pour out wine, &c.

Distinct from these are the chamberlains, each of whom possesses a key to the royal apartments, and the privilege of the entry. At their head is the *sommelier de corps*, under Philip Ruy Gomez de Silva,

* They are in Italian, anonymous, but by eye-witnesses.

with considerable income, and the obligation to keep a table for the chamberlains on duty.

The master of the horse assists the king, when he chooses to ride, in drawing on his boots and riding equipments, as also in mounting and dismounting. Under him are pages, grooms, and trumpeters. The office is now held by Antonio di Toledo.

The quarter-master, Luis Venegas, assisted by some other officers, looks to the lodging and establishment of the court.

The chaplaincy is one of the best offices of its kind.

The body-guard of the king consists of 100 Burgundy horse, under the Count Horn; 100 German halberdiers, under Count Schwarzenberg; and 100 Spaniards, under Count Feria.

The costs of the royal household and court may amount yearly to 200,000 florins. The queen, Isabella, has a confessor, an almoner, about twenty-six ladies, at the head of whom is the first lady of the household, and of the bedchamber, who enjoy great consideration. A.D. 1566.

When the queen eats in public, two ladies who have the duty for the week stand opposite to her and carve; another at her right serves as cupbearer, and also gives her water to wash. The other ladies

stand around near the wall, and amuse themselves with the conversation of their lovers, who stand by with their heads covered, and explain this custom by saying, that they are not there to wait upon the queen, but upon their ladies. After dinner, the queen betakes herself to her chamber, accompanied by the buffoons and musicians, and then follow the ladies.

Into the room where the queen eats, according to rule, none but known and distinguished people are admitted. She has four physicians, who (although she be in health) attend her daily, and consult upon her diet.

The court establishment was enormously large. In one passage of this description, for example, are set down: 30 fourriers, 17 persons in the kitchen, 12 in the bakeries, 7 physicians, 3 painters, 83 persons in the chapel, 23 Spanish singers, 24 French, 17 Italian, 10 Spanish trumpeters, 2 German, 26 persons in the queen's chapel, 18 in the prince's. To the suite of the queen was also attached a barber.

The principal authorities are the Council of State, the Council of War, the Council of Castille, the Council of Grace and Justice, of Finance*, of the Inquisition, of the Order of Knighthood, of Italy, Arragon, and the Indies.

* He might have added of Flanders.

According to a return made in the time of Philip II. the income and expenditure stood thus :

	Income.	Expenditure.
Spain . . .	4,395,000	4,249,000
Flanders . . .	1,600,000	1,600,000
Milan . . .	844,000	877,000
Naples . . .	1,770,000	1,600,000
Sicily . . .	636,000	656,000

ducats probably.

From another source* we find, for the time of the war in Flanders :

	Quentas.
Salinas de Espana . . .	93
Diezmos de la mar . . .	70
Lanas . . .	53
Cruzada : . . .	200
Customs. Almojarifago . . .	153
Escusado . . .	110
Indias . . .	300
Navarra . . .	35
Sicilia . . .	375
Napoles . . .	450
Milan . . .	300
Flandres o Burgundia . . .	700, &c.

The total amounts to 4701 quantas, (the quenta being

* Collect. MSS. in parchments 35, according to the Egerton papers.

a million maravedis,) or 12,048,000 ducats ; or according to another, 13,048,000 ducats.

In 1609 the Indian fleet brought for the king, in silver and rials, 747,363 (not known what).

2,551,945 for private persons.

1,782,838 for the king in bars and pearls.

4,955,070 for private persons*.

Out of fear of disturbances (says Badoer) the States are not convened, but letters are dispatched to individuals in case of necessity, as lately Ruy Gomez dispatched himself 600 such. Arragon, Catalonia and Valentia pay no regular contributions, but grant every year 600,000 scudi in three equal instalments. In Arragon the king is poor, the nobles poor, the people poor.

Things bear better appearance in Castille, which province Philip specially protects, and is on that account popular there, and not so in Arragon. When he visited that latter kingdom for the first time, his fourriers did not venture to order quarters for any of the court, for even women told them they had no right to do so, and one was so bold as to tear down the name of the Duke of Alva. Philip fell hereupon into such a passion, that he would fain have proceeded on his journey on the instant, but in order

* Benault Depesches d'Espagne. St. Germain, vol. 800.

to avoid scandal, allowed himself to be persuaded by some of the principal persons, to pass a night there. Early the next morning, however, he took his departure. The people say, we are forbid certainly to say any thing against God, but not so against the king, and if we pay him what we owe him, we have nothing else to do with him.

In December, 1566, the Cortes of Castille proposed to drive out of the realm all bankers, those pests of the kingdom; which done, they promised to furnish great sums*.

* Fourqueraulx dépêches. Dupuy, 523. p. 250.

LETTER XIV.

Reports of Ambassadors.—Inquisition.—Conference at Bayonne.—Alva Eboli.—Queen of Spain.—Queen of Navarre.—Religious projects.—Alva on French concerns.

THE scarcer the accounts of the internal affairs of Spain since the accession of Philip II., the more welcome must be every contribution which may throw light upon them. We may take leave to add some pieces by way of supplement to the copious selections which Ranke has laid before the public from Venetian documents. Ours are chiefly extracted from reports of the French ambassadors, Guibert, St. Sulpice, Fourquevaulx, St. Gear, Longlie, Maisse, Du Fresne, Forsges, and Brunault, and generally given in chronological order. Those pieces alone, which concern Don Carlos and the Queen Isabella, are put together by themselves in the following letter.

ACCOUNT BY ST. SULPICE *.

May and June, 1564.

I have complained to the King of the manner in which the Marseillaise, and other Frenchmen, are maltreated by the Inquisition. He excused himself by saying that he had little power or authority in matters which depended on that body; he could do nothing further than recommend the grand inquisitor to cause good and speedy justice to be done to the parties. The grand inquisitor promised that they should be treated no worse than born Castilians, and the good and speedy justice came to this, that they were *burnt alive* in the King's presence †.

The assemblies of the States in Arragon, Catalonia and Valentia, have come to a termination unacceptable to both parties. The States namely have granted the King only the old and insufficient amount of contribution; the King has granted nothing to the States. Philip also exposed to the world his dissatisfaction, by going booted and spurred to dissolve the assembly at Barcelona, and then proceeded on his way, disappointing all those who expected him, as on other similar occasions, to confer knighthood on several persons.

* St. Sulpice Ambassade en Espagne. Dupuy, 523.

† Bibl. Roy. No. 9748, p. 51. 83. 88. Dep. de St. Sulpice.

ACCOUNTS OF THE YEAR 1565, OF THE CONFERENCE
BETWEEN THE QUEEN OF SPAIN AND HER MOTHER,
CATHERINE OF MEDICIS, IN BAYONNE.

Elizabeth and Catherine wished for such a conference. Philip, on the contrary, hesitated at first, partly from natural indecision, partly from anxiety lest other States should entertain suspicion of its objects. Later he consented, and laid down its main objects to be, the marriage of their children and nephews, the security of Christendom against the infidels, and the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and especially to prevent the daily weakening of the royal power in France*. He was even himself inclined to betake himself to the neighbourhood of Bayonne.

Catherine sent costly furniture and a silver table-service, under escort of from fifteen to twenty horse to Bayonne. They did not shrink from the expenses of the journey, though the want of money was gigantic, (*geant besoin d'argent*)†.

Philip, on the contrary, ordered his wife to be told, through the Princess Eboli, that she might take

* Mem. de Granvelle, xx. 60. Chantonnay i. 1. and ii. 50. at Besançon.

† Lettres de Catherine de Medici, Bib. Royale, 8693, p. 8, 9.

order as she should please for her own person, but not to allow her ladies (in contradiction to the Pragmatica) to order themselves new clothes. Those which they possessed were rich and fine enough, and should be worn nine months longer. Even so should all the gentlemen in her suite be dressed by the same rule, and wear no gold or silver embroideries or ornaments. He hoped that in France they would act on the same principles, in order that a meeting, which was intended simply for pleasure might not give rise to excessive expense.

St. Sulpice proposed to the King that the Prince of Eboli should accompany the Queen to Bayonne, but received no distinct reply. When Elizabeth repeated the request, Philip said:—"During the journey to Bayonne, my son Carlos must go to our Lady of Guadaloupe, and I would trust him to no man on earth but the prince; for it is to be feared, that if the prince be not always about my son, we shall find the latter, on his return, in the same state in which we left him at his departure." When Eboli heard of this, he prayed the French ambassador to repeat once more his request, since he only wished to be absent from the prince for about twelve days; he also observed, that these difficulties were put in his way entirely by the Castilians, who hated him as a Portuguese and a friend to the French.

I have as yet (continues St. Sulpice) learnt nothing more positive on the subject of the journey, for every thing is treated slowly, and so secretly, between the King and the Queen, that no other but the Duke of Alva knows any particular of it. They give out sometimes one thing, sometimes another, as suits their purpose, and because the preparations are not yet concluded, the journey has been repeatedly postponed. When Philip gave order that many persons, especially ladies, should not be allowed to make the journey, those who were condemned to remain cried much, and reminded the King, through the principal persons at court, of the distinguished services of their families, in order to obtain from him a reversal of the sentence, but Philip was not to be moved to acquiescence.

He appointed with accuracy the times and places of the Queen's journey, and promised to be ever as near her as possible. Then, he added, I am dissatisfied to hear that your mother makes such great preparation for her journey, as though you were to be received, not as her daughter, but as a foreign queen. Moreover, she has invited Madame de Vendome (so be called the Queen of Navarre) and the Prince of Condé. It is impossible, however, for me to admit of your meeting these persons, partly because they have spoken out too sharply in

the matter of religion, partly because you could not treat the Queen of Navarre as queen, or call her sister, without trenching on my dignity. But to call her merely cousin, while the Queen of France calls her royal sister, would, on the other hand, be very unbecoming. As to her son, on the contrary, the Prince of Navarre (Henry IV.) he is still a child, whom God will not allow to remain in ignorance, and may be present at the meeting as Prince of the blood.

When the Queen Elizabeth (or Isabella) communicated this to St. Sulpice, he answered in accordance with his instructions;—it was not reasonable that she and her husband should wish to impose a law upon the King of France and her mother in respect of religion, which they themselves did not observe, with respect to the English and Germans. Why should the French be placed in a worse position than these, who certainly always demean themselves with courtesy, and neither in word or deed are guilty of the least scandal? It was not to be conjectured that the Queen-mother had invited the above named or any others of the reformed faith. If, however, they, of their own accord, announced themselves, in order to kiss her hand with reverence, and to present her with the offer of their services, a refusal would appear an injury, and awaken suspi-

cion that something further was in agitation. In that case, the meeting, instead of promoting peace in the realm, might easily be the cause of new divisions.

The Queen thought these allegations very reasonable, and promised to notify them accurately to her husband. St. Sulpice, however, as he left the room, encountered the Duke of Alva, who repeated to him in the name of the King, the former order ; adding that if the persons before named, or any others, whose conversation might be unacceptable or offensive to the Queen, should appear at Bayonne, the Queen would turn about if she were advanced to within a mile of that city.

St. Sulpice repeated to the Duke nearly the same reasons in reply, and wrote to the Queen a letter, to be shewn to the King. In the answer, addressed to her mother, they appear to have abided by their first resolution, with respect to the Queen of Navarre, but in other points, to have resorted to some devices for concession.

At the same time, the Spanish ambassador at Paris laid as many difficulties in the way of the journey as possible, for he was dissatisfied that he had not been employed in the affair*, and even

* Report of March 29, 1565, Bib. Royale, 9748.

Philip, who (according to St. Sulpice) was very secret and reserved, even in matters of no consequence, spoke very undecidedly on the subject of the journey. Yet he said to his wife, he would commit to her care some little things (*petites choses*) for her mother, and the Duke of Alva assured St. Sulpice, that at Bayonne the hearts of both parties must be laid open. The Ambassador replied, that on the side of France this had always taken place without dissimulation or secrecy. Eboli told him in confidence: they will not confine themselves to pleasures at Bayonne, but will occupy themselves in confirming the inclination and favourable views which their majesties bear to one another. Possibly, they may also speak of marriages, do what they can in the matter of religion, and lay every thing else aside.

In relation to these expressions, St. Sulpice writes to Queen Catherine*. It is to be believed that an attempt will be made to persuade you to abolish, or at least alter those relaxations of the laws which you have passed in favour of your subjects. The Spaniards would be glad, in any way, to revive the troubles which it has cost you so much exertion to allay. Or they fear to be thrown soon into those

* 79. Undated, but of the same time.

dangers, out of which, as out of innumerable and fearful storms, God has led us into a calm and happy haven. Yet, upon all this, I have no occasion to say any thing, since you know the thoughts of the Spaniards well enough to be on your guard against their plans.

New propositions, that the Prince of Condé, without any further distinction should come to Bayonne with others of the reformed persuasion, Philip most peremptorily rejected, and said: my subjects are so tender of conscience, and would receive such enormous offence, were my consort to find herself in such society, that no one of them would ever wish to see her or me again, (on the score of our consent having been given.) The Queen turns back, were she within a quarter of a mile of Bayonne.

The French were forced to yield, and at last on the 9th of April, 1565, came the long expected departure. Philip had prescribed such short days' journeys, and at every place so great and costly a reception awaited the party, that the Queen made little progress. She remained also some days with her husband at Valladolid, in the expectation of receiving a present, but this expectation failed them. Again she remained three days *before* Burgos, by reason that the city, on account of great preparations, was anxious for her entry, while others dis-

sueded her on account of contagious diseases prevalent therein*. Philip, who was consulted, decided against her entry.

After the return of the Queen from Bayonne †, St. Sulpice had an audience of Philip, and told him, the Queen Catherine waited some days for the Duke of Alva, (who conducted her daughter,) to commence speaking upon certain subjects. As this, however, did not take place, she began the negotiation, in accordance with the natural friendship and motherly affection which she entertained towards both their majesties. At first she found the Duke somewhat cold, afterwards, however, he went into her propositions with so much zeal and good will, that she was well pleased with him, and has expressly enjoined me to thank your majesty for permitting her daughter to be attended by so distinguished a man, who conducts himself, in all respects, as a minister worthy of so great a king. On this account, Queen Catherine opened to him the situation of France, and what concerns the maintenance of religion and the strengthening the royal dignity. On these points, also, she found the Duke of such favourable and sound opinions, that he not only approved every thing which pertained to the advantage of the French

* May 16 and 23, 1565.

† August 11, p. 97.

crown and dominions, but advised and exhorted her, to insist, in such fashion, upon obedience and strict execution of the law, that none should presume on any pretext to transgress it, without being so punished that he should serve as an example of dread to all. The Queen pointed out to the Duke how all her resources and dealings were always directed to this object, and found a great corroboration of her policy in the approval of a man of such experience and knowledge in state affairs, and who serves the King with so much capacity and judgment.

About this time a meeting took place between Philip and Don John of Austria, who had endeavoured to betake himself, without the King's consent, for an enterprize to Malta, but had found all the passages from the kingdom closed. John came forward to implore forgiveness. The King received him smiling, and with great demonstration of affection, and embraced him. He then presented Don John to the Queen, who jokingly asked, whether the Turks and Moors were good soldiers? Don John replied: they had not allowed him the happiness of seeing and trying them.

The Duke of Alva on his part praised Queen Catherine much, and informed St. Sulpice. After having obtained reports from many different persons

of the affairs of France, I said to their majesties, it seems to be neither the moment in France to root out the evil with the sword, nor to treat it merely with mildness and dissimulation; for on the one hand, one can hardly approve that the king should raise an army in the country and lead it against his own subjects; on the other, there is no sufficient reason for leaving those who are too audacious, unpunished. One would not set religion on the uncertain footing of the chances of a war, in which one evil accident might throw all into the greatest danger, but the military power must assuredly remain in the hands of the king and his delegates; and his laws and ordinances must be maintained by the enforcement of strong penalties. Some, however, have enforced very contrary opinions, and advised the King of France to take up arms against the reformed; he, however, had not made his journey to France to do that country so bad a service, nor would the king his master have sent him for such purpose*. St. Sulpice answered the Duke. Some indeed cherished such an opinion of the Duke, and he had given himself trouble to turn them from it. The Queen in the

* P. 105. A letter of Alva of August 20, 1556, in which he bitterly reproaches Pope Paul III., is extant in Dupuy MSS., Vol. 697, p. 126.

mean time had given open testimony as to what had taken place in the matter.

Alva deemed marriage alliances between France and Spain of advantage; for that contracted with the Emperor was no increase to the power of Spain, and must excite the jealousy of the Germans and lead to their union with the French. Charles V. himself, it is true, had not been able to prevent the Germans from taking service with France, for he who has money will ever have the Germans too.

LETTER XV.

Disposition of Don Carlos.—His sicknesses.—Fall at Alcala.—Incapacity.—Queen Isabella.—Her good qualities; relations with Philip.—Marriage project for Don Carlos.—Project for Flanders.—Arrest of the Prince, his conduct, accusation, and death.—Different accounts of the same.—Letter of Philip.—Relation of Antonio Perez, &c.—Death of the Queen.—Reports.—Her funeral.

RANKE has in his treatise on the affair of Don Carlos *, as acute as it is circumstantial, struck into the only right path to the elucidation of that mysterious passage of history. Yet he modestly adds: No perfect solution immediately presents itself. Let me therefore be allowed to impart some hitherto unknown passages of documents on the subject which corroborate his views.

The Venetian, Badoer †, gives the first circum-

* Wiener Jahrbücher, Band 46.

† Badoer relazione. Bib. Roy. MSS. 10083. 2. 2 a. Colbert. 5486.

stantial account of Carlos in a report of 1557. The Prince is twelve years of age and of a weak complexion. He has an head of disproportioned bigness, black hair, and a fierce disposition. It is said of him that when, in the chase, hares or other animals are brought to him, he takes delight in seeing them roasted alive. Once when a long tailed lizard was presented to him, and bit him in the finger, he bit off the animal's head, and for this once only, shewed courage by so doing. It is also believed that he is immoderately inclined to the female sex. If he finds himself without money, he gives away, (without the knowledge of the Princess his aunt,) chains, medals, and even his clothes, though otherwise fond of shew. When he was told, after the marriage of Philip with Mary of England, that their son, if they should have one, would inherit the Netherlands, he said, this he would never consent to, but would oppose to the last; he also begged a suit of armour of the Emperor, then resident in Brussels, with which the Emperor was much pleased. He shews uncommon pride, in that he will never remain long standing in his father's presence, or take off his cap, and that he calls the Emperor father, and his father only brother. He is as passionately addicted to his own opinions, and as prone to anger as a young man can be. He amuses himself with uttering on every occasion, so

many predictions (cose augure) that his tutor collected them in a volume and presented it to the Emperor.

His tutor Giovanni is a man of the best morals, and makes him read Cicero's Offices, in order to appease his fiery propensities; but he will speak and read of nothing but warlike affairs; and if one of his attendants (as often happens) brings him a present, he accepts it, but takes the giver to a room and compels him to swear upon a book that he will follow the Prince to any war whither he shall choose to lead him *.

The Emperor, on his arrival in Spain, shewed the greatest inclination for his grandson, and recounted to him his actions and adventures. Carlos (who listened to him with the greatest attention) expressed his approbation at every thing; the Emperor's flight from before the Elector Maurice alone excepted. The Emperor answered, that want of money and soldiers had alone compelled him; but Carlos replied, "I would never have fled." The Emperor repeated his explanation of the circumstances, but Carlos, to the admiration of the Emperor and the by-standers, insisted on his declaration.

* In un libro. Perhaps this means to *inscribe* his name. Philip had an illegitimate son of 13 years, of whom no one spoke at court.

That the Emperor, however, discovered the weak points of his grandson, appears from a letter to Philip, warning him not to shew his son to the Netherlanders until he had been better educated and could better conduct himself*.

But Carlos improved neither in mind nor body, as partly appears from the reports of the French ambassador Guibert†. He writes, September 5, 1561, from Madrid, to Catherine of Medicis. The King is about to take his son to Segovia, and thence, for the sake of the mild and temperate air, to send him to Tarragona and Valentia. It is hoped that he will there get rid of his quartan fever sooner than here, where the winter is colder and damper. The poor Prince seems troubled and extenuated, and the best physicians give little hopes for the future, since he suffers a general wasting.

In November, 1561, Carlos went, though sick, with Don John of Austria and Alexander of Parma, to Alcala, and at the same time, the Queen of Bohemia applied to Queen Isabella of Spain to further the marriage of her daughter with the Prince‡. Isabella had the less desire to involve herself in such a business, as she had rather (for the pleasure of future

* Strada 1. 10. Cabrera 91. 45.

† St. Germain, 790 (228).

‡ Report of the 16th December, 1562.

intercourse) have married Carlos to her own sister. Yet she determined to speak of both the projects with the King, who answered, the sickness of the Prince prevented him from making any decision on the matter.

April 3, 1562. Guibert writes. The fever has left the Prince, and his health improves, although, in consequence of his foolish doings, symptoms of his former malady remain behind. This will all be removed as the summer advances. This hope was, however, completely frustrated, when Carlos had his heavy fall down stairs at Alcala. Guibert writes, May 15, 1562. The lamentation, perplexity, and despair of the King and his suite, is incredible. Carlos fell head foremost down a dark stair, which he would descend alone and secretly, in search of a young daughter of a porter in the garden, whom he admired. The surgeons, not satisfied with bandaging the wound, have enlarged it. The new French ambassador, St. Sulpice, writes, May 10, from Burgos. They mean to trepan the Prince, and have ordered solemn processions and prayers for his recovery*. According to an accurate report of the whole malady and treatment by the royal physician,

* Bib. Roy. MSS., No. 9746, 9748.

Olivarez, the Prince fell with his head against a closed door, and hurt it severely on the left side *.

Contrary to first expectation, Carlos, it would appear, entirely recovered, but, according to a letter of Cardinal Granvelle to Gonzalo Perez, suffered anew and for a long time from fever †. Many, he proceeds, are pleased with the Prince, others not. I think him modest, and inclined to employ himself, which for the heir of such large dominions, is in the highest degree necessary and important.

Soon, however, the judgments upon him are couched in severer language. February 1565, an anonymous correspondent writes to Granvelle:—The Prince is sad and melancholy, and turns his mind to nothing ‡. Neither Philip, nor any of the issue of this branch, will attain the virtues of those who are gathered to their fathers. Hoppers expresses himself still more strongly, and writes:—There is nothing to be done with Carlos. He believes every thing that is said to him; if he were told he was dead, he would believe it §.

Before I communicate later accounts of Carlos, I

* Granvelle, Mem. à Besançon, viii. p. 77.

† October 12, 1564. Granvelle, xiv. 283.

‡ Granvelle, xvi. 165.

§ January, 1565. Granvelle, ii. 187.

will bring down those concerning the Queen, and then seek to elucidate the fate of both, down to their deaths.

February 25, 1562. Guibert writes to Queen Catherine:—King Philip goes on loving the Queen more and more. If others contradict this, it is only being frightened at scarecrows (*epauontaux à chenevieres*) and lies. Your daughter has rather tripled her influence and consideration within these three months. Her husband appears cheerful and content, and she possesses extraordinary discretion and attraction; and therewith so much liveliness and talent, as is seldom found in a female of 30 years*. All the grandees are devoted to her, she no longer requires any tutelage, but understands how to lead and instruct others.

The Queen of Spain, writes St. Sulpice, June 12, 1564, is good and lovely, and is no less rejoiced and content with the return of her husband, than she was sad at his journey and long absence. They live together in the greatest friendship, and sleep together, so that it may well happen that after nine months a fair prince may be born. When she fell ill in December, Philip said, “her loss would be greater and weightier, and pain me more than any instance

* She was only 17.

of adversity that ever occurred to me. For she possesses many virtues and good qualities, and deserves in every respect my friendship and affection."

August 11, 1565. St. Sulpice writes to Catherine*. The King and Queen accosted one another after her return from Bayonne, as affectionately as can be imagined, and vied with each other which should do the other most honour. They resided in the same house at Sepulveda, even in the same chamber, and remained together till five o'clock the next day after dinner. Then they went back together five leagues, and reached Segovia the following day. Prince Carlos came on three leagues to meet them, approached the Queen on foot, and sought to seize her hand to kiss it, and she did not omit to return his salutation cordially†.

I can assure you, madam, that the Queen your daughter lives in the greatest content on earth, by reason of the perfect friendship which ever the more draws her closely to her husband. He daily makes her the most confidential communications, and is so cordial in his intercourse with her, as to leave nothing to be wished for. The King has also received such

* Noy. 748. p. 97.

† Travailla assez de lui prendre la main, pour la lui baiser. et elle n'oublier de lui rendre bien son salut.

favourable reports of her virtuous deportment in her whole expedition, and is so pleased by them, that he ever loves, prizes, and honours her, and all of her people will ever the more do the same.

There has been some talk of a marriage between Don Carlos and the Emperor's eldest daughter *, or the sister of the Queen. The Queen told me, " I shewed the portrait of my sister to Carlos, which he considered a long time, and said she has beautiful eyes, a beautiful mouth, she is altogether beautiful. With regard to this marriage I spoke open-heartedly with the Prince Eboli and told him, although the King shews much paternal affection for the Prince, and the Prince great obedience and reverence to his father, yet all this might alter for the worse. The prince, moreover, is grown up, and may possibly incur a necessity of visiting Italy or Flanders, where he would be living at a distance from his father. In that case there is no princess upon earth who would be more apt to moderate and accommodate herself to his dispositions, possessing so much softness, kindness, and virtue as she does. She will conduct herself like a daughter towards the Queen her sister, obey the King, and keep things in peace without suspicion. It would be hard to find a princess in

Christendom so suited both to father and son, and all their connections.

Eboli, to all appearance, entered the most warmly into this project, and complained that Alva at Bayonne, shewed himself so cold and solemn, and had not pushed it farther. Philip only replied, "They must reflect and consult upon it."

Towards autumn, 1565, Carlos was again attacked by fever*, and when the King informed St. Sulpice of his recovery, he added with a sigh: I hope my repeated warnings may restrain him for the future from making such furious inroads on his health; and that the inconvenience of the disorders into which he is continually falling, may make him, if possible, more prudent and watchful.

The King and Queen betook themselves to a country house, where they were joined by the Prince upon his recovery. As he was once driving in the park with the Queen and other ladies in a carriage drawn by oxen, he was silent for a long time. The Queen asked him where were his thoughts. He answered: "more than 200 miles away." "And where is the place so far off?" asked the Queen. "I am thinking of my cousin," he replied.

This conversation certainly indicates no passion

* 9th September, 1565, p. 108-10.

for the Queen, even if we interpret cousin to mean an Austrian princess; in that case Carlos rejected the alliance which was favoured by Isabella.

October 10, 1567, the French Ambassador Fourquevaux * writes that the Queen, in the presence of the King, was happily delivered of a daughter, and adds, all great and small have wished it to be a son, except perhaps, Prince Carlos, who in no wise concealed this, but often said it to the Queen. Yet he afterwards did not fail to take his share in demonstrations and prayers in the churches.

About the time when they were in doubt whether Philip or Alva should go to the Netherlands, Carlos learned that the Cortes were about to propose that during the King's absence, he, Carlos, should remain in Spain †. He betook himself thereupon to their assembly, and told them, that whosoever should vote for that proposal would be held by him as his deadly enemy. Equally so, whoever should be mad enough to propose, as they had done three years back, that he should marry his aunt. He moreover, ordered them, on pain of death, to keep secret these expressions. They were soon, however, known.

* Fourquevaux Ambassade, St. Germain, 790 (228), p. 258.

† Report of December, 1566, p. 250, and November 24, Dupuy, Vol. 357.

December 11. The King expounded to the States, that the troubles of the Netherlands compelled him to go there, and they must furnish considerable sums. Hereupon the Procurator of Burgos represented what pain the King's absence would inflict on the country at large. It would be the same as separating the father from his children, the shepherd from his flock. The Procurator contrived to describe this so movingly, that many began to cry. At last he avowed that it was very necessary for His Majesty to bring back the rebels of the Netherlands to obedience, for that on this depended the peace of Spain, and so soon as the Flemings should have repelled the Inquisition, the others would follow their example.

Among the remarkable documents which refer particularly to the fate of Don Carlos, the reports of the French Ambassador, Fourquevaux, may first be cited.

He writes, January 19, 1568*. The 14th of this month, the King has ordered in all the churches and convents, at all canonical hours, and at all masses, prayers to God to grant him counsel and inspiration, with respect to a project and a deliberation which he has in his heart. This has given matter for much talk to all the curious about the court, and I am not altogether sure whether it bears reference to the

* St. Germain, 790.

Prince. It is certain, at all events, that the King, long before his departure, had ceased to converse with him. Great discontent prevailed on both sides, and the Prince knew not how to conceal the rancour which he entertained against his father. So far from doing so, he said, without caution, "Among five persons to whom I wish desperate evil, the King is, next after Ruy Gomez, the first." To Ruy Gomez, in fact, he attributes every thing which falls out against his wishes.

It is well known that on Christmas night he would not communicate, nor take any part in the jubilee, because he could not lay aside his hate, nor pardon ; and his confessor, therefore, refused him absolution. Hereupon he applied to other doctors of theology, but they returned him the same answer. There are people who even affirm that he wished to do his father an ugly turn. However this may be, the King went last night into the chamber of the Prince, found a cocked pistol under the bed, and committed him to the care of Ruy Gomez, the Duke of Feria, Don Prior Antonio, and Don Lope Quixada, under express order that he should speak with no living soul, unless they were by to hear and see.

I understand that Don John of Austria has also absented himself since Saturday, and I know not whether he avoids the King or the Prince, yet he was

with the former at the Escorial till the previous Saturday, and went to him after his return as usual in the company of the Prince. The King gave himself no trouble about the Prince, but spoke in a friendly manner to the other. Perhaps jealousy, or the suspicion that Don John has disclosed his secrets, has so seized the Prince, that he braved Don John upon his leaving the King. Perhaps there are other reasons, but it is enough that since that evening Don John has no more appeared, and the whole nobility speak of nothing but the arrest of the Prince.

In Fourquevaulx's next report of the 5th February, 1568, we find,—the King of Spain wishes that your majesty should learn nothing but the truth of the affair of the Prince, and has caused me to be informed through Ruy Gomez on the 27th ult. as follows: It is now above three years since the King well observed that the Prince's head was in worse condition than the rest of his frame, and that he never was in complete possession of his understanding. His actions have since that time supplied daily proof of the fact; but the King has long been silent on the subject, in the hope that time would bring back his understanding and discretion. The contrary however, has fallen out, and the King lost all hope that the Prince would ever regain his intelligence, or become worthy

of the succession to the throne. To make over to him so many countries and sovereignties would be to effect their dissolution, and the destruction of all the King's subjects. After a long and deep consideration, accompanied by indescribable anguish, the King was forced to determine upon other measures, namely, to appoint him a good chamber in a great tower of the palace at Madrid, exactly under that which the princess inhabits. He is served and maintained there like the prince of a great house, but so strictly watched, that he can neither do mischief, nor betake himself out of the country.

His plan was (as I hear from others) to betake himself, by way of Genoa, to the Italian states, where people would not have been wanting who would have excited him to throw every thing into confusion, and to require things of his father contrary to all sense and reason. He also, as I heard, made great efforts to move Don John, wishing to make him, in the first place, subscribe his name to a list of persons, who had therein pledged themselves to follow him, and to favour and support his party. Don John stedfastly refused this, and in order to escape such entreaties, betook himself to the Escorial, where he also remained till the return of the King. At this, Carlos was so jealous and dissatisfied, that, on the evening of the 17th of January, when

the King returned with Don John, he found means to lure the latter to a particular part of his residence, causing him to pass through eleven doors and shutting them all after him. At last, arriving at the place he intended, he made an attempt to shoot Don John with a pistol, which, however, Don John wrested from him, and betook himself to the King. Philip took no measures on the instant; even on the next day, when I was present at the audience, he appeared with as good a countenance as usual, although he was already determined in the same night to lay hands on his son, and no longer to put up with or conceal his follies and more than youthful extravagancies. The last of these was, as I have related, an intent to kill Don John with his own hand, or to have him shot by Leava, one of his people, who was posted behind the arras; Providence prevented the Duke from entering this chamber.

In the night the King entered his son's chamber, and gave him over to Ruy Gomez and Feria, who were made answerable for his safe keeping with their lives. He, moreover, took away his papers, and as Carlos was in the habit of committing all his thoughts to writing, Philip learned by this means his views, and the ten thousand strange and mad visions which had existed in his brain; yet he had never thought of undertaking any thing against the life of the

King or Queen, as the common rumour in the court ran. They found in his possession only 3000 dollars, and a quantity of Portuguese coins (desires). This was the amount of his treasure ; but he possessed also several rings. He remained in possession of all, and can still do what he pleases with it. His establishment was broken up on the 26th of last month. Those who serve him wear neither sword nor poniard, and are often changed. The meat which is brought to him is cut small, and he is not allowed a knife even to cut his bread. The kitchen attendants carry the dishes to the door of his chamber, where they are taken from them. Only that one chamber is allowed him, and the window is strongly grated, as your majesty will hear further from Louis du Foix, the bearer of this.

It is intended, moreover, (writes Fourquevaulx on the same day to Queen Catherine) to proceed judicially against the Prince, and to declare him incapable of mounting the throne, by which course, with God's help, the Queen's issue will one day reign. Although the injury to the Prince brings great advantage to her, yet is she wise enough to shew no joy, but to submit herself entirely to the will of her lord, until he at last forbade her to weep ; for she has for two days wept over the misfortune of her step-son.

After receipt of this report, Charles IX. writes,

Feb. 13, to Fourquevaulx :—That which you relate of the arrest of the Prince of Spain, is the strangest thing I ever heard of, and I cannot believe that what you describe, and what others relate, ever happened to man *. Therefore I wish to be enlightened on the subject, and beg you to furnish me with accounts of it, and if possible, true ones. Two days after the receipt of your first report, the Spanish ambassador, Alava, requested an audience, which I granted on the instant, in the expectation that he would give me some certain information as to the event, as, according to a letter of the Queen of Spain, he had orders from his master to do ; but he did not in any respect behave as if he meant to speak on the subject till he gathered from my conversation that I was already acquainted with what had happened. Yet he even then said so little, that I well perceived he was determined not to bite, or enter into the subject. He stuck to this text, that they were matters which concerned father and son, would have no further consequences, and would be easily disposed of.

As far as I am concerned, you may easily conceive that the affair causes me great sorrow, and that I grieve for those whom it concerns. Precisely in the same tone, Catherine wrote to Fourquevaulx, and

* St. Germain, 790. (228.)

added, Feb. 23, I am concerned that the event very much distresses the Queen my daughter, as well with regard to her husband as in respect of the Prince, who has always let her know the will he bears towards her. (*La volonté qu'il lui porte.*)

In his next report, of Feb. 18, the ambassador writes :—The Prince is ever shut up and guarded in his chamber. He eats little and unwillingly, and sleeps hardly at all, which in no respect can assist him to amend his understanding. He becomes visibly thinner and more dried up, and his eyes are sunk in his head. They give him sometimes strong soups and capon broths, in which amber and other nourishing things are dissolved; that he may not quite part with his strength and fall into decrepitude. These soups are prepared privately in the chamber of Ruy Gomez, through which one passes into that of the Prince. The Prince is still never allowed to go out, nor even to look out of the window.

The Prince's grandmother* wrote lately to the king, her son-in-law, she would willingly come to him to comfort and tend him like a mother in his affliction ; but I hear that they are very ready to spare her the trouble. It is said further, that deputies are about to arrive from Arragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, to inquire

* Queen Catherine of Portugal, sister to Charles V.

after the cause of the Prince's arrest, and to beg for his liberation, which project is very displeasing to the King. It is said that the Constable of Castille has let fall some expressions, to the effect that he, as first of the grandees who swore allegiance to the Prince, as successor to the throne, ought to be called in ; but I think the King troubles himself very little about any of these things.

May 26. Fourquevaulx continues:—Not a day passes that the Prince does not commit some folly. Thus he lately swallowed, without observing it, a great diamond, which he wore on his finger, and looked for it afterwards every where. He having, three or four years before, in a similar absence of mind, swallowed an uncommonly large pearl, so it now occurred to them the same thing might have taken place, and by the aid of medicine, on the 17th day, the diamond was recovered.

It is said that the King came to visit the Prince one morning, but proceeded no further than the chamber of Ruy Gomez, from which he could clearly hear, and, as I believe, see him. Carlos is well enough in body, but is in the highest degree dissatisfied, and cannot restrain himself from committing follies, or from foul language, which marks him for a madman, and the enemy of his father. The nature and bent of the father is for the rest so different from that

of the son, that one of them must, by a miracle, become altogether another man before one can hope that the Prince, during the life of his father, can be released from confinement. Yet the prayers in the churches go on:—"Et famulos tuos, papam, Philippum regem nostrum, reginam, et principem nostrum cum prole regia," &c.—only the King has forbid the clergy to mention the Prince in their sermons.

The deputies of Arragon, Valentia, and Catalonia, (says Fourquevaulx, April 13,) received an order not to approach, and none of them ventured to continue his journey. The King also wrote in the beginning to all the grandees, and the towns, saying, that he had ordered the Prince's arrest on good grounds. There is now as little talk upon the subject of the Prince as if he had been dead ten years.

This, Sire, arises from the circumstance, that the King, by his wisdom, has brought it to this, that no man in his kingdom ventures to criticise his conduct or oppose his orders; but every one obeys him, willingly or unwillingly, and all, if they do not love him, at least appear to do so.

May 8, 1568. Fourquevaulx writes to the King of France:—The Prince is well in his person. He has also, as his friends say, so bettered his spiritual condition during the holy week, that the hand of

God is plainly to be recognized therein. For, since Lent, and up to Easter, he has (in order to receive the Lord's body) fulfilled the duty of a good Christian by fasting, and after four-fold confession, penance, and mortification, has been admitted by his confessor to the Holy Communion. For two days the latter put off the affair on account of certain questions and their answers, which had passed between him and the king, and said at last, to the Prince, that on certain important grounds he could not give him the sacrament, whereupon the Prince fell into great sadness, sighs, and tears. When the confessor saw this, and how grieved he was at the delay, he excused it on the ground that certain decorations and other necessary things were wanting in the chapel. Hereupon the Prince answered, that if this were the only difficulty, he might treat him like any other penitent. This was done; the confessor sung the mass, and required Carlos to retire for the receipt of the consecrated host into another small adjoining room. This the Prince declined, unless he should first receive his father's express permission to leave his chamber, for which his confessor praised him, and said, "*qu'il pourrait communier par les sieges et toiles de bois qui sont entre la chambre et la salle où est la chapelle.*"

Since this time Carlos has, contrary to his custom, become mild and humane, which gives great joy to those who wish for his liberation, and to his servants, since it shews that he is not so deficient in intellect and judgement, as the King and many maintain; for if he were insane, they would not have given him the sacrament. They hope his confinement may serve for penance and improvement, and that his father will in a short time forgive him.

Notwithstanding these various assurances, I have, Sire, heard from one who knows what passes, and more of the affairs of the Prince than those who talk of them, that the communion was permitted to the Prince by advice of the Theologians, in order to correct the belief of those who think that the Prince belongs to the sect of the Sacramentalists, from which, in fact, he is mortally averse. The same Theologians say, it is allowable to give the sacrament to madmen in lucid intervals, as has been done in the case of the Prince. But, in truth, there is altogether no hope that he will ever be sane, or capable of succeeding to the throne; for his understanding deteriorates every day, and his liberation is not to be in any degree reckoned upon. Another tells me: The Prince's servants and household are to be discharged and paid off, which equally goes

against the expectation of his early release from confinement.

I have from a sure hand, that the Emperor and Empress have taken the arrest of the Prince so much the worse, that the King did not disclose to them their grounds for the measure, but only said, generally, that it had been adopted on good ones, which should be one day communicated to them. Their Majesties have answered, among other things, they hoped the King would release the Prince after a short confinement, and that this penance would answer the purpose of improvement and amends. By this answer, the King gives it to be understood that he knows nothing of the true grounds of his confinement, or chooses to know nothing, namely, the notorious incapacity and want of sense of the poor young Prince. The report ran, the Emperor would send a gentleman to intercede for the Prince, and request his release; but the Imperial ambassador said to me that no one would arrive for that purpose. The King has written to the Emperor to ask him to let the Prince of Bohemia remain in Spain, as this would be a great comfort to him under the calamity of his son.

After these circumstantial reports of Fourquevaux, one expects from him the best account of the Prince's

death. I only found, however, the following words in a letter to Catherine of Medicis. I yesterday presented to the Queen my condolence on the loss of her step-son, which for her and hers is a very profitable loss. She wishes me to perform a very conspicuous and royal ceremony of condolence. They go on here with mourning and funeral solemnities as if Carlos had been king.

We must suppose that out of the diplomatic reports on the death of Don Carlos, precisely the most important have either been abstracted, or lost, or deposited elsewhere. It was impossible for me in my haste to extend my researches on the subject yet it seems to me that this chiasm proves nothing against Philip; for in the first place, the French court was not inclined to dismiss or slur over any charge of crime preferred against the Spanish. Secondly, it appears from all the reports of Fourquevaux, that he considered the imprisonment of Carlos as natural and necessary, but in no respect dangerous for Philip II. In the third place, Philip had not the smallest ground for removing his son by violence.

It is instructive, however, to hear other witnesses upon these events, and in the next place, Philip himself.

1. A letter of Philip to the Viceroy of Naples,

the Duke of Alcala, upon the arrest*. We have ordered the arrest of our dear son, and have adopted such alterations in respect to his mode of life, maintenance, court, establishment, &c., that it is fit you should be informed of them, that you may know that they are adopted on just grounds, and for pressing reasons. According to the duties imposed upon us, we were compelled to adopt these means; for we are convinced they are the most applicable and conducive to the service of God and the public welfare, &c.

2. The Emperor considering, (as Fourquevaulx justly remarks above,) the account transmitted to him by Philip as insufficient, the latter gave, May 20, 1568, fresh instructions to his minister at Vienna. They contain, however, nothing more than general excuses, and grounds of justification, and afford no new lights†. The Emperor making no answer, Philip became offended, and said he had (probably on another occasion) written plainly, that Carlos, for many and good reasons, would never leave his confinement, nor marry the Emperor's daughter‡.

3. Philip writes to the Duke of Alva on the

* Dupuy MSS., Vol. 300.

† Chantonnay Mem. in Besançon, Vol. 30.

‡ Fourquevaulx's Report of September 15, 1568.

death of Carlos* :—As it has pleased God to take my dear son the Prince to himself, you may conceive in what pain and heaviness I find myself. He died July 29, in a Christian manner, after having, three days before, taken the sacrament and exhibited repentance and contrition, all which serves to relieve and console me in this affliction. For I hope that God has called him to himself, that he may be with him evermore, and that he will grant me his grace and assistance that I may endure and surmount this calamity with a Christian heart and patience.

Philip next orders prayers and masses for the dead, on account of the death of his son, and for the advancement of his affairs to the service of God.

4. Charles IX. dispatched the *Sieur de la Tremouille* to Madrid, to communicate to Philip his condolence on the death of Carlos. In the ambassador's instruction †, September 26, 1568: after some praises of the Prince, we find the King is convinced that his Catholic Majesty entertains great sorrow, for besides that the obligation of a good father compels him to lament the loss of an only son, at the moment when he might expect his help, we must also believe that the manner of that loss, must have and does deeply affect the King.

After the King, the ambassador is directed to wait

* Chantonnay, Vol. 53. † Fourquevaux, Vol. 790.

upon the Queen, and bear similar testimony to the grief which Charles IX. and the Queen entertain on the subject. Particularly since their Majesties were aware that her Majesty bore particular affection towards the Prince, and had received from him comfort and contentment. (*Consolation et contentement.*) *

These words of an instruction drawn by the minister and deposited with the public acts, ought in no wise to be interpreted against Philip and Isabella. They involve nothing more than this, that the death of a son from causes so nearly allied to madness, must distress the father, and that the Queen did not live in enmity with Carlos, as one might too subtly infer from certain concomitant expressions regarding the marriage and succession to the throne. It would be in the highest degree foolish to attribute to the ambassador expressions bearing pointed reference to murder and adultery.

Among the MSS. of the Paris library is the following cotemporaneous narrative by an anonymous writer upon the arrest of Carlos †. King Philip returned later than on former years from the Escorial, and commanded, January 18, 1568, in secret, the

* The original runs: *la dite dame portait affection particulière au dit prince, et en avait consolation et contentement.*

† *Raguaglio della prigionia del principe D. Carlo D. Austria di Madrid a 26 Gennaro. 1568. Dupuy, Vol. 300.*

chamberlains of the Prince, the Duke of Lerma and Don Diego de Mendoza, to leave open on the following night the doors of the Prince's residence, and to keep him in conversation that he might not go to sleep. The King then ordered his adjutants, Santorio and Barnate, to take with them hammer and nails, and went about eleven in the evening without light, and in *deshabille*, to the apartment of the Prince. There were only four other persons with him besides these adjutants. The Duke of Feria, Ruy Gomez, the Prior Antonio, and Don Louis de Quixada. When they entered, the Prince was speaking to his chamberlains with his back turned to the door. The King, before Carlos observed him, took his sword and dagger from the bed, and gave them to Santorio. It is averred that the Prince then rose up from the bed, and in great astonishment asked his father whether he was come to take away his life or his liberty. The King answered, "neither the one nor the other; compose yourself." When, however, he ordered the adjutant to nail up the windows, the Prince fell into such a passion, that he tried to throw himself into a large fire which was burning in the room, but the Prior held him back. He then ran wildly at some candlesticks, which, however, in common with all other such articles, were forthwith removed. Carlos now fell at the feet of his father, and begged

him to put him to death. The King, with his usual calmness, repeated to him the recommendation to compose himself, and caused him to be carried back to his bed. All chests and writings were equally carried away, and the Prince committed to those four persons, but specially to Feria, as commander of the body guard; and a promise on oath of faithful guardianship was exacted from them.

Monday the 19th, the King convened the principal authorities of the realm and imparted to them what had happened, and told them—"it had been necessary and useful, as in time they would learn." The provincial authorities also received a communication.

The guardianship of the Prince remained in the hands of the four persons abovementioned, till the 25th, when the King committed it to Ruy Gomez exclusively, and associated with him six gentlemen, of whom two took the duty each day. One chamber only remains to the Prince, called the tower, without chimney, with high, narrow, grated windows. The other chambers are assigned to Ruy Gomez, and that he may the more conveniently discharge his new duties, the King has chosen that his wife should be lodged with him.

The grounds of the arrest are commonly ascribed to a malady of the brain, and to desperation at the

strict inspection kept over him; for there were symptoms of an intention on his part to leave Spain. Then it is added that he had strayed beyond this project, and had entertained a further one for gaining the government by the death of his father. It is moreover stated, that it had been his wish to go to Portugal and thence to Flanders. For the attainment of this object, he had obtained an undefined pledge from many persons, but had entrusted the secret of the plan to none but Don John of Austria, and in some degree to the Marquis of Pescara, one of whom probably disclosed it to the King, but full four months before this period.

6. Antonio Perez to the Parliament-counsellor, Du Vair, in Paris*:—The arrest and death of Carlos had been brought on by his own bad, restlessly inclined disposition; by the disgust he entertained at his father's marriage with a French princess originally destined for himself; by the want of caution with which he expressed his discontent to the world, which gave his father occasion for suspicion, and led some of the Flemings to attempt gaining him over to become the head of their revolt.

King Philip gained over Don John of Austria, and induced him to undertake playing the part of a mal-

* Dupuy MSS., Vol. 661.

content, in order to win the favour of the Prince. This he performed with so much perseverance and skill, that at last the Prince suffered the expression to escape him that he had one great enemy. Am I not, continued Carlos, the most miserable man of my rank, that ever lived? Kept like a slave without a share in employment, without consideration, or active occupation, by which I might make myself capable of governing. It is necessary for me to liberate myself from the hands of my father, and throw myself into the arms of my friends in the Netherlands, who require my assistance.

After the King had ascertained this, he took counsel with Eboli, Mora, and another, as to what measures he should adopt. The more, however, he insisted upon laying hands on the Prince, the more they endeavoured to mitigate his just anger, because (not to mention other reasons) they feared, whatsoever difficulties the Prince might have to go through, he might one day obtain his pardon and his release from captivity. In such a result they would find themselves in the most dangerous position, in virtue of the Prince's enmity. It came to this, that it was with difficulty any one could be found bold enough to lay hands on the person of the Prince. The King, however, chose to charge himself with the proceeding, and having heard that the Prince had on his

doors a lock, which no one but himself knew how to open, and I know not how many arms and pistols in his bed, he caused one of the attendants to be tampered with to disclose the method of opening the door, and to shew where the pistols were concealed. One morning the King, accompanied by Ruy Gomez, and some others, ordered the door to be softly opened, laid his hand on the sword, and drew the curtain of the bed aside. Carlos was greatly surprized, but the king told him "to be calm. All that had happened was for his advantage, but to moderate the violence of youth it was necessary for the father to have wisdom for himself and his son also." In the mean time Carlos was disarmed, and compelled to be dressed.

Eboli narrated further:—Eboli and the others had pressed for the liberation of the Prince, or for his punishment, in so far as he might deserve it, and this the more in that they feared he might escape, or through the decease of Philip, become king, and maltreat them. As Philip had now found him guilty, he was condemned to death by the Casuists and Inquisitors; in order, however, to avoid bringing the execution of this sentence too palpably before the public, they mixed for four months together a slow poison in his victuals.

This account of that double dealing, bitter enemy

of the King, Perez, would deserve little credit, even if it did not exhibit so many internal improbabilities and contradictions, and were not refuted by better authorities.

Of as little worth, and probably of the same origin, is an account of the death of the Queen Elizabeth, which follows in the Parisian MSS. immediately after the above narrative of Don Carlos. It runs thus: after the death of the Prince, of whom Philip was jealous, not only for reasons of policy, but because he had been formerly affianced to the Queen, Philip determined to rid himself also of the latter; and what brought him to this was, that a Marquis del Pozzo made love to a lady at the court, and sometimes by night came into the residence of the Queen to see his mistress. When the King learned this, he caused some gentlemen in his confidence to disguise themselves as beggars, and to lay themselves down, as if to sleep in a neighbouring hall. They followed the Marquis as he came out of the palace, and identified him for the man they suspected.

Bad luck would have it, that the Queen, at running at the ring, let fall her handkerchief from a window, and the Marquis picked it up. This increased the suspicion, and when the Marquis came out of the palace a second time, he was stabbed, with the words, "Death to the traitor." No further noise arose upon

this. The king directed it so, that the Duchess of Alva, first lady of honour to the Queen, and old matron, came one morning to the Queen, woke her, and said to her, the physicians consider it advisable that your Majesty should take a small medicine, as otherwise they cannot preserve your Majesty from a miscarriage. The Queen rejected this, maintaining that she had never felt better, and that in her present condition of pregnancy she ought least of all to be so treated. While, however, the duchess insisted, behold the King, who slept at no great distance, entered in his night dress, informed himself of the grounds of the contest, at first took part against the duchess, but after having listened to her reasons, joined in persuading the Queen. She withstood a long time, till at last the King told her, the good of the state required it, and presented the draught to her himself. Three or four hours afterwards she was delivered prematurely of a *son*, whose skull was burnt up, and died shortly afterwards.

Luckily Fourquevaux's accurate reports of the Queen's death are not lost, like those of the death of Carlos, but are still extant, to the contradiction of these fables.

June 3. He writes, the Queen feels the child stir, she was in a fainting fit for more than an hour. In another account of August 1, 1568, he says, the Queen

has no pain or suffering except when she falls into a fainting fit, or a shivering seizes her in the arm and left leg. She is sometimes also affected with vomiting.

October 3. He writes to the King of France. At noon to-day we have lost the Queen of Spain in the manner which I describe to her mother the Queen Catherine. Fulfil, Sire, the prayer of the deceased in submitting yourself to the will of God, and comfort yourself with the belief and feeling that she is gone to Paradise. The King has withdrawn himself for a while into the cloister of the Hieronymites. The corpse of the Queen will be to-morrow deposited with the barefooted Carmelites, till it is conveyed to the royal vault.

Fourquevaux's account to Queen Catherine, of the same day, runs, I would have given my own life that the sad event which I am compelled to communicate had not taken place, &c. The facts are these. The erroneous belief that the Queen was pregnant, induced them for some months to adopt countless precautions for the preservation of the infant and when she actually became pregnant, she was never well for a week together, nor free from ailments, faintings and vomitings. Within the last three days she was so severely attacked with these, that God called her to himself this day at noon,

after she had, about an hour before, produced a well-formed daughter about five months grown, which was also forthwith baptized. The King, her husband, paid her a visit this morning before daybreak, during which she spoke to him very naturally and like a Christian, and took leave of him for ever, so that never princess shewed more goodness and piety. She commended to him her daughter, the friendship of your Majesty, peace, her attendants, with other discourse which deserved admiration, and could not fail to lacerate the heart of a good husband, as the King was : (*bon mari comme etait le Roi*). He answered with equal firmness, promised to fulfil all her prayers, and added he did not think her end so near. Then he betook himself (as I was told) in great sorrow and anguish back to his chamber.

In the night, the Queen confessed, made her will, received towards morning the sacrament, and at her request, the last unction. It was between five and six that I first heard, through Don Juan Manriquez, of her great danger, and went to her directly, with the Sieur de Lignerolles. She knew us, and said to me, “ Monsieur l’Ambassadeur ! you see me in the act of quitting this unhappy world, to pass to a more pleasant kingdom, there to be, as I hope, for ever with my God. Tell my mother the queen, and the King my brother to bear my death with patience, and

to comfort themselves with this, that no happiness on earth has ever made me so content, as now does the prospect of approaching my Creator. I shall then be in better situation to do them service, and to implore God, to take them and my brothers under his holy protection. Implore them in my name, to take care for their kingdom, that an end may be put to the heresies which have spread there. I on my part, will pray God to grant them the means, and that they may take my death with patience, and hold me for happy."

I gave her for answer, "I hope your Majesty may with God's grace, live long enough to see in your own time what order the king and queen shall establish in France, and how God shall there be served according to your wishes." She answered; "I wish that this may be, but not that I may see it, for I would rather see that soon which I hope to behold." I sought as well as possible to give her hope of life, but she said, "You will soon know how near I am to my end. God also gives me grace to despise the world and its grandeurs, and to fix all my hopes on him and Jesus Christ. Never did a thought occasion me less anxiety than that of death."

After some time I asked her whether she had any particular message (*particularité*) to entrust me with for your Majesty. She answered, "No! only to beg

you, for God's sake, not to trouble yourself for your loss, for that she was going hence to the blessed, which was the best thing that could be wished for her. She would there await your Majesty's arrival, at such time as God should have withdrawn you from the toils and miseries which you are bearing for the good of the king and his subjects." She also prays her brother to shew himself as king and master, for this he owes to his kingdom and his people.

This said the Queen, and more which I could not catch, in consequence of my own trouble of mind, for I was rather in need of consolation myself than able to impart it to others. In like manner she spoke with Monsieur de Lignerolles, and was then exhorted by her father confessor, to whom she made answers like a pious Christian, and one in full possession of consciousness, till about half a quarter of an hour before her departure. She then fell into restlessness (*travail*) which however soon subsided, so that she died so gently it was impossible to fix the moment at which she gave up the ghost. Yet she opened her eyes once, bright and glancing, and it seemed as if she addressed some command to me, at least her looks were fixed upon me.

We soon afterwards withdrew, leaving palace, town, and people in tears, for all, great and little,

lament her as the best Queen they ever had, or are likely to have.

In the answer of Charles IX. to Fourquevaulx, October 15, 1568, and the instruction for Cardinal Guise, whom he sent to Madrid to condole with the king *, there appears not the slightest indication of a suspicion that the Queen had died a violent death. Catherine of Medicis on the contrary, (perhaps drawing conclusions from herself as to others,) certainly appears to exhibit some suspicion, when she requires from Fourquevaulx still more accurate accounts, and says ; “ I pray you, however, to conduct yourself with your wonted discretion, and so as you shall deem necessary and becoming. Give yourself trouble to learn all discourses upon the subject of this decease, in order to impart them forthwith to us with every thing else, the knowledge of which may be conducive to the service of my son.”

The ambassador is unable, however, in his later reports, to add to his earlier ones either facts or rumours. He writes merely, October 30, that he and Lignerolles alone of the ambassadors had spoken with the King ; Philip expressed once more his grief at the loss of the Queen, and his joy that the King of

* St. Germain, 790.

France was intent on strong measures against the heretics.

February 6, 1569, the Cardinal Guise writes, King Philip answered my expressions of condolence: "He had found no better means of consolation than that of which your Majesties had availed yourselves, namely, the reflection on the simple and excellent life of his wife, and on her very Christian and blessed end. All her servants, ladies, and maids, knew how much he had always loved her, and how well he had treated her, and the extraordinary sorrow, which he felt at her loss, bore open testimony to these facts. Hereupon he praised her qualities and virtues in every manner, and said, were he to choose a wife, he would wish to find just such another."

June 6, 1573, the bodies of Carlos and Elizabeth were with great pomp deposited in the Escorial*. The whole populace followed the last, and called her a saint.

If I compare all the original accounts which I have exposed above, with three others already before the public, the materials for a lengthy critical discussion present themselves. As, however, the object of all these Letters is simply to bring to light sources of information hitherto undiscovered, and to leave the profitable employment of them to others, or to

* St. Goar, June 18, 1573.

avail ourself of them in other places, it may suffice here to submit the following assumptions as proved or highly probable.

1. Carlos had from the beginning a weak bodily, and an ill-conditioned intellectual constitution. The last failing was exalted by a temperament passionate to phrenzy, though lucid intervals and moments of compunction occasionally intervened.

2. In the times of his greatest excitement, the hate which he unquestionably bore towards his father may have originated thoughts and expressions which bore reference to the death of the latter. We can scarcely, however, here pronounce how far rational design, sense, and moral responsibility existed in this part of the transaction.

3. In every case Carlos was incapable of governing, and there was good ground for strict supervision of him.

4. He and the Queen both died natural deaths, and not the slightest love affair ever took place between them*.

* Whether these deductions of Monsieur Raumer be correct or otherwise, it is evident that there is nothing to justify historians or biographers in stating, as an indisputable and notorious fact, that Philip was the murderer of his son and wife. Monsieur La Cretelle and other modern French authors, less eminent, are among those who are open to this imputation. V. *Guerres de Religion*. [Tr.]

LETTER XVI.

Granvelle's Memoirs.—Plans for the Netherlands.—Spanish soldiers. — Bishopricks. — Heretics.—The States. — Orange, Egmont, and Hoorn.—Granvelle's removal.—Egmont in Spain.—His letters to Montmorency.—Inquisition. — Iconoclasm.—Philip II. and Maximilian II.—Celibacy.—Philip's debts.—Alva's march.—Orange's retirement.—Emigrations.—Margaret's position.—Egmont's character, trial.—Alva's tyranny.—Medina Sidonia.—New disturbances.—Plans of reform.—Margaret's second appearance. — Alexander of Parma.—Archduke Ernest.

WHEN Philip II. left the Netherlands, (says Vandenesse,) an universal weeping* and lamentation arose. Sept. 8, 1559, he landed at Laredo, after having endured a fearful tempest of twenty-four hours' duration. October 8, an auto da fè was held in the plaza of Valladolid in presence of the King, his son, his daughter, and countless spectators. Twenty-eight men and women were led forward, their sentences read aloud, the obstinate, (a sad spectacle,) burnt; and the rest conducted back to prison.

* Vandenesse, *Voyages de Charles V. et de Philippe*, &c.

It is hard to guess, whether it was a gain or a loss to the Netherlands that Philip never visited them again.

In the 6th volume of the *Memoirs of Granvelle*, p. 99, among the writings and reports on the Netherlands of 1559, is an anonymous memoir on the affairs of the Netherlands, whether it be ascribable to the cardinal himself, or considered as having been delivered to him, in either case it shews the views and intentions entertained. The following measures were suggested.

1. To choose a viceroy for the Netherlands, and appoint Brussels as the capital.

2. To frame a law for the upholding of the faith, and cause it to be ratified by the States, but to avoid the odious name of the Inquisition.

3. To create a sufficient number of bishops, and compel them to residence.

4. To change the constitutions of the cities, and to associate with every councillor, an agent appointed by the King.

5. To construct, in convenient situations, citadels and fortresses, and to deprive the towns of arms and munitions of war.

6. To submit all charters to a new investigation.

7. To form a fleet for protection of commerce.

8. To extend an amnesty to all criminals and rebels.

It is probable that the last point was intended to gild over the others at variance with the privileges of the provinces. In the mean time, the presence of a Spanish force, and the establishment of the bishoprics, found from the first the hottest opposition.

Granvelle considered the Spanish troops indispensable in the Netherlands, yet it might be best to remove them, if only others could be brought in their place to meet the dangers *. The useful bishoprics were fitted out partly from the possessions of the convents, and the service of the King would gain much if bishoprics were called to council, instead of abbots, who, in public affairs, were just as self-interested as the meanest of the people. March 17, 1560, Granvelle writes to the King:—The States press at all rates for a convention, to the great injury of your Majesty's consideration and name. This error of convening the States had its origin with the Queen †, and twenty years will not suffice to repair

* Letters of October 4, 1559. January 16, 1560. March 15, 1560.

† This untrue and unjust complaint is probably directed against Mary, Queen of Hungary, long Regent of the Netherlands, under Charles V. According to an account, (*Mem. de Granvelle*, iv. 222,) already in 1552, she begged the Emperor, on the score of her age and sex, to permit her resignation, and also, because she saw that there was little religion in the Netherlands.

the mischief. The country is in wretched condition, and nothing is paid in. For the affairs of religion, Egmont and Orange display the best intentions.

According to a letter of September 7, 1560, Philip already repented the having conceded any thing to the States, and October 7, Granvelle writes :—I despair of the States paying any thing, the last long war has exhausted every thing. If we remind them of the succour afforded by Spain, they answer, that it was so afforded in order to prosecute a war which did not concern them. Unless aid speedily reach us from Spain, the consideration of the King in these provinces will be utterly subverted.

Three weeks later. October 28, he proceeds:—It is impossible, without instant danger of a disturbance, longer to postpone the embarkation of the Spanish troops. As soon as they were seen to march, there arose the most universal joy, and ever since more love has been shewn towards the King, and more zeal for his service. It is true, and I do not conceal from myself, that there is much to be feared both within and without the realm. In no case, however, would that handful of men have been able to keep the provinces under restraint. It would be well to strengthen the army, but on the contrary, to disarm all the natives. The histories of former times, and the example of what they have lately

dared in the presence of the King, lets one conclude of what they are capable of. The Zealanders were resolved not to prosecute the repairs of their dykes, in order rather to perish with the Spaniards, should these once more disembark from the transports upon their territory*.

The Council of Brabant, writes Granvelle, Dec. 15, 1561, is the most mutinous, and seeks to spread disturbance every where. Under the pretext of the common welfare, they gain over the people; in fact, however, they only look to the prolonging their own power, so that it were a miracle that we (the Regent and myself) should longer hold out. It seems to be unadvisable to put a native officer in the chief command of the troops. Some wish, others fear, the arrival of the King. The existence of *the last feeling* is a ground for accelerating his arrival, yet it were well that he should come with a strong attendance. Philip answered:—"The bad state of my finances is a reason that, in spite of my inclination, I cannot make my journey to the Netherlands, yet you may, indeed must, say, that I am coming soon."† The more opposition they shew to the bishoprics, with so much the more firmness must

* Nov. 2, 1560.

† July 17 and Aug. 5, 1562. Granvelle's Memoirs, Vol. vii.

we labour for them, and press, without compunction, the Pope for the bulls of investiture, inasmuch as all the affairs of religion must otherwise fall into the greatest danger. None but bad jesters (*mauvais plaisans*) believe that the inquisition has any thing to do in the matter.” Granvelle had, moreover, long altered his views respecting the bishoprics, in deference to the existing difficulties, and had written to Vargas *. Would to God we had never thought of establishing them. Amen, amen.—The Cardinal also maintains, in another letter to Viglius †:—“Not he, but the Marquis of Bergh, had first spoken with the King on this matter, and the Regent had afterwards chimed in. The Pope at first would not consent, on account of the archbishoprics.”

March 10, 1563, Granvelle writes to the King ‡:—“The Flemings are convinced that they are to be turned into a mere province, to be treated like Italy, and subjected to Spain; hence their jealousy and hate towards this nation. To take from them this notion and give them other thoughts, it were well to invest some of the great men here with employments and preferments somewhere in Italy and Spain, that

* Sept. 14, 1561, viii. 188.

† Vol. xv. p. 163. Nov. 29, 1564. Jan. 19, 1582. xxxii. 9.

‡ Granvelle, Vol. viii. p. 162.

they might see how the King treats all his subjects as his children.

The Cardinal approved of the strong proceedings against the heretics, and informed the King; for example, the Marquis of Bergh had caused three to be burnt in Valenciennes *. He proposed, that all persons should be compelled to swear to the purity of their faith, and their submission to the laws against heresy †. Those who refuse the oath, to be deprived, within twenty-four hours, of their arms, to be allowed a fortnight to dispose of two thirds of their property, and then to be expelled the realm for ever; the remaining third part of their property to be applied to pious uses ‡. Philip, on his side, wrote: —“The example and calamities of France prove how wholesome it is to punish heretics with rigour. No one feels more than I do the necessity of my jour-

* Vol. viii. p. 176, April 14; and Vol. ix. p. 13, July 5. 1563.

† July 14, 1563, Vol. ix. p. 20. However zealously many persons of quality complained against the confiscations which emanated from the King and the Inquisition, yet, if Viglius may be believed, the same men were well content when the proceeds of confiscation accrued to themselves. Granvelle, xv. 87, Nov. 15, 1561.

‡ Dec. 12, 1563. Vol. ix. p. 133.

ney to Flanders * ; but I would fain perform it in an honourable fashion, and so as that I could shew them a severe countenance (*un rostro severo*). The Flemings whom I have preferred to office in Italy, shew themselves tolerably indolent in their posts, and all persons to be appointed must be of unquestionable orthodoxy. Finally, I doubt whether the Prince of Orange would take a Viceroyalty such as would bind him down to a continual residence."

As, however, Orange, Egmont, and Horn, now declared they would cease to occupy the places of high authority so long as Granvelle should remain in the government, Philip asked counsel of the Duke of Alva, who answered † :—"He was beyond himself with rage when he considered the letters and demands of these men. It would be the worst policy to remove the Cardinal because these desired it, only that they might, contrary to his advice, accomplish the convocation of the States. They ought to be punished, but the means for this were wanting at the moment ; it were better to appear not to observe, and to disunite them at any price ; to flatter Egmont

* April 13, 1563. Vol. viii. p. 191. Yet Chantonnay writes, Nov. 7, 1564, to Granvelle, "Rien ne touche le Roi que l'Espagne." Vol. xv. p. 47.

† Oct. 21, 1563. Vol. ix. p. 139.

in particular, and invite him to court, but to move the others to execute their public service as before, and to excite them the while to form great hopes from the journey of Egmont.

At last, however, Granvelle was compelled to yield. According to his account, he withdrew himself before receiving any royal order, and only in the hope that the public affairs might take a better turn in his absence*. Margaret found herself relieved, all the nobles sought to shew her complaisance, and Orange and Egmont obtained again great influence†. These two were sometimes entirely united, at other times not, and Egmont undertook, according to Morillon, the journey to Spain quite as much for his own interests as those of the public. The same authority tells us, March 1565, Orange and Egmont treat one another with reserve. Their wives, in particular, are very jealous about precedence, and bear competition with great impatience. According to another report, the Countess Egmont demanded precedence every where over the Princess‡. Egmont was at first much delighted with the reception he experienced at Madrid: the King gave him 10,000 ducats, and hopes of still

* Morillon, Prevot d'Airé et depuis évêque de Tournay. Mem. i. Juillet, 1564. Granvelle, xix. 186.

† Morillon, Vol. i. p. 252. II. 230, III. 90.

‡ Granvelle, Mem. xxi. 180.

further favours*. At a subsequent period, Egmont wept when he told how he had been deluded, and was then become altogether old and gray†.

Two hitherto unknown letters of Egmont to the Constable Montmorency may find a place here.

1. Sir, at your departure from Rheims you said to me, that you would send me your falconer to receive from me some young falcons‡. Now is the right time, and if you direct him to me, he shall have the finest that can be found. In every thing else in which I can serve you, command me. Brussels, Oct. 12, 1563.

2. Since the peace, I apply myself to the making of gardens, but can find here no good gardener. For this reason I pray you to send me one who is not married, and whom I will treat well. I wish no less that you would send me some good grafts and vine cuttings, and recommend me any thing which may be of use to me, of the kind.

Egmont's journey to Spain had produced no alteration in the mode of considering and dealing with public affairs, and some complaints of the most multiplex descriptions revived. Some said, the government

* Perez to Granvelle, April 1565. Granvelle Mem. xvii. 180.

† Morillon, iii. 392, iv. 19.

‡ MSS. Bib. Royale, No. 8675, 94.

had given up of itself all its power, and allowed itself without resistance to be brought into contempt*. The King never could or did hear the complete truth through letters. He must come here and travel about like his father, and not believe he can govern all from Spain. If (says Viglius) they follow the advice of a certain writer, and no longer punish the heretics, it is all over with religion †.

Others said, in the presence of Granvelle, Armenteros governs the Regent ‡. The measures respecting the bishoprics, heretics, and inquisition, remain in destructive vigour §. The States of single provinces give no help, we must convene the General States ||, &c.

Some would have been appeased, if the Inquisition had been given up. Others looked to universal liberty

* Morillon, II. 186, III. 8, 167. Granvelle, XVI. 82, XX. 25. The Abbays also contributed to disturbance. Morillon, II. 262.

† Viglius to Granvelle, April 27, 1565. Granvelle, XVII. 262.

‡ Granvelle, XVII. 225. According to another passage, XXII. 217, Armenteros advised, on the contrary, to content the nobles according to justice and reason.

§ Granvelle, XXI. 154. XXII. 311.

|| Dec. 15, 1566, and Jan. 4, 1567. Granvelle, XXIII. 312. XXIV. 1.

of conscience *. There were others again who feared the revival of the Anabaptists. The loudest complaints came from Antwerp, and at last resolved themselves into the famous image-breaking, in which, however, none but very worthless rabble participated. It remains, however, a remarkable fact, that they stole nothing, but gave over every thing to the officers of the churches and persons in authority, under a promise upon oath to change it into money for the use of the poor †. In order to appease these tumults, Orange hastened to Antwerp, and was received there in August, 1566, with the greatest acclamation. He promised to exert himself for the preservation of their rights; they must, however, obey the King, and not insist upon deciding religious questions with the sword. The toleration of both confessions of faith was next proclaimed for Antwerp, and the town, as did several other districts, offered as much as three millions for the extension of religious freedom. On the other hand many in Antwerp, threatened, if they were hindered from attending preachings, they would fall on the Catholics and adherents of the King ‡. The Calvinists were even so discontented with

* Granvelle, xxiii. 107, 122, 243, 259.

† Morillon, iii. 250.

‡ Granvelle, xxii. 314. Morillon, iv. 47.

Orange's intermediate line of conduct, that they published caricatures of him with two faces and two open hands. When the King heard of the plundering of the churches, he grasped his beard, swore by his father's soul to exact severe punishment, and fell sick *. Twice the Regent was on the point of flying from Brussels, but the citizens refused to permit her.

In this state of things the idea could not fail to suggest itself of seeking for aid against the rebellious Netherlander from the German branch of the House of Austria. Philip II. however, was by no means always on the best footing with that branch of his family, and entertained very dissimilar views on many subjects, as the reports of his ambassador at Vienna, Chantonnay, more fully explain. I extract the following :—

In some parts of Germany, especially in Austria and Hungary, there was so great a want of priests, that for miles round not one was to be found, the rule of celibacy having frightened the majority from the profession †. Already was Pope Pius IV, to whom the Emperor Maximilian had made applica-

* Morillon, III. 253, 298. Les gueux (he says) 266 font une guerre impitoyable aux bibliothèques.

† Letter of the Cardinal Delfino, May 4. 1565, in Chantonnay, I. 73.

tion for the abrogation of that rule, inclined to compliance, when the Spanish cardinals and Philip raised numerous difficulties*. On which account the Emperor said, "God grant the King of Spain may never find himself in the difficulties in which I now am. The conclusions of the Council of Trent have helped us to little progress, whether in respect of doctrine or improvement in morals." †

Another subject of unpleasant negotiation between Maximilian II. and Philip was that of the debts which Philip had contracted in Germany, and had not punctually paid‡. The Emperor represented to him that he thereby not only wronged a considerable body of persons, but deprived himself of all consideration and credit. The King, however, answered, that unfortunate circumstances had hindered him from redeeming his engagements.

About the same time he consulted the Emperor's opinion on the subject of the affairs of the Netherlands, and received the probably unexpected answer: The King ought to go there in person, but without an army, and endeavour to regain the obe-

* The Bishop of Lanjano confessed to Chantonnay, that the Pope had been gained over to the abrogation of celibacy. Chantonnay, June 14, 1565, I. 156.

† May 11 and 28, 1565. Chantonnay, I. 77, 101.

‡ July 1566, III. 93.

dience of his subjects, not by violence, but to employ, in the first instance, every method of mildness. True he would afford Philip succour if required, but any other occasion and cause would be more acceptable to the Emperor.

Philip answered hereupon, April 1567: Religion was but the pretext of the disturbances, and he remained in the sentiments of softness and mildness which the Emperor knew belonged to him*.

Granvelle also advised the King to moderate the edicts and shew mildness to the good intentioned. He disapproved the plan of sending Alva with an army to the Netherlands, and ascribed it to the influence of the Spaniards founded on partial views, although he was in other respects an enemy of the sectarians, and of great concession†. As soon as Alva's march was announced, Orange said to Egmont‡, "As the strangers are about to enter the land to destroy it, we must, by help of the general States, carry through a general pardon." Egmont thought on the contrary, the States were gained over by the court, wherefore it was necessary to accommodate every thing, to cause the preachings to be suspended, and wait for a fitter opportunity to introduce re-

* Chantonnay, iii. 133. March 1567, iv. 39.

† April 1567. Morillon, iv. 81, 98.

‡ April 6, 1567. Morillon, iv. 81, 98.

forms. Orange hereupon left the country, and while many followed him, others sought to throw the blame upon him and justify themselves*.

The Regent would have seen the return of Granvelle with much greater pleasure than the arrival of Alva †. The Duke (so says the earliest letter upon his arrival) maintains, it is true, strict military discipline in Brussels, but in every other part of the country the Spaniards commit many excesses, think only of their own security, and brand every one indiscriminately with the name of heretic ‡. It is a misfortune that Alva will govern this country in the Spanish fashion, and appears to think of nothing but confiscations. Count Hoorn has appeared, to kiss the Duke's hand; the latter did not lay aside his dignity, and suffered the other to stand bare-headed before him. At the meeting of Margaret and Alva there was much ceremony and dissimulation; they pay one another in the same coin.

In a letter of Fourquevaulx from Madrid, we find,

* April 20, 1567. Morillon, iv. 107, and Granvelle, xxiv. 302, upon the numerous emigrations.

† Marquerite regrette Granvelle et avoue qu'on l'a abusée, Morillon, iv. 192.

‡ Morillon, iv. 217, and in Granvelle, xxv. 119, anonymous letter.

Oct. 15, 1567 *, Margaret sent her secretary, Machiavel, to Philip, with orders to return after an appointed time with or without an answer, as she was determined then to return to her husband. Philip replied, the time was not favourable for a journey; her departure would, moreover, be unacceptable to him. She might at least wait till the next summer, as in the spring he would assuredly come to Flanders, consult with her on important matters, and undertake nothing without the assent of his dear sister. She need not think any thing of the arrest of Egmont and Hoorn, as it had taken place without her privity, with the good intention of averting all the odium and reproaches from her to the Duke.

Aug. 3, 1567. Morillon writes †: Count Egmont is a high, proud spirit, who presumes much on himself, better fitted to dispose a hunt, a hawking, or, at best, a battle, than to manage public affairs. Unhappily he does not know himself. Flatterers have

* St. Germain MSS. 228. 790.

† iv. 214 and 227—233. At Tournay, they rejoiced at the arrest of Hoorn and Montigny, for these nobles had encouraged the disturbances there, and the last, by calling away a guard of 70 men, had made the plundering of the churches feasible. Morillon, iv. 283.

convinced him that he is wiser than he really is, and have urged him so far onward, that he must of necessity take the leap. He has been with the Duke of Alva, but returned musing and low spirited.

Later letters contain the following. They have arrested Hoom and Egmont, but in their accusations have not confined themselves to individual charges, but have accumulated a confused mass of things*. The whole process is handled more clumsily than if a village judge had the conduct of it, and no one pays any regard to the usual rules of procedure. It is a lamentable thing to see the Countess Egmont with her thirteen children†.

The Emperor thought the arrest a hard measure, and moved Philip once more to mercy; but Philip answered, that if the Emperor knew his grounds he would approve his conduct‡. Even Granvelle, though otherwise devoted to the doctrine of blind obedience, interceded with the King for Egmont,

* The Councillor Belin to Granvelle, Dec. 14, 1567, Granvelle, xxv. 302.

† 134. 311. Morillon, v. 18—31.

‡ Letter of Chantonnay, Jan. 28, 1568. v. 3. St. Goar says, in a report of April 14, 1572, *Le Duc d'Albe notoirement ne peut rien sans ordre et commandement du Roi*. St. Germain, 791 and 228.

although he afterwards judged the sentence not unjust *. Nay, if we can credit an account of Morillon, Alva himself was much dissatisfied at being compelled to carry the sentence into effect †. It is more credible that, later, when all his schemes went contrary, he repented his acceptance of his command and shed big tears (*grosses larmes*). These were, however, surely, tears of malignant fury. The Emperor's repeated prayers, that the confiscated estates of Egmont might be restored to his widow and children, were rejected by Philip with the observation, "that the time for lenity was not arrived." ‡ He also wrote to Granvelle § :—should the Emperor and the German princes intercede for Orange, I will give them my refusal in such terms, that they shall never intercede with me for mercy again.

* Granvelle gave counsels to Belin which illustrate his own disposition. Often to make believe that we see and hear nothing, to think only how we can keep good understanding with our master, to do his wishes, bear with patience; these are the means of advancement. Granvelle, xxvi. 23. Jan. 15. 1568.

† Morillon, v. 79, 80.

‡ Chantonnay, Oct. 8, 1578. Vol. v. and often in vi. l. and vii. 144, an apology addressed by Alva to the Emperor and the German princes.

§ July 28, 1569. Granvelle, xxvii. 175.

Meanwhile, the financial difficulties, the excesses and extortions of the Spaniards, the losses in trade *, which proceeded from the too hasty quarrel with England, the rigour of the proceedings against heresy, the complaints against the new taxes, condemned even by Granvelle, of the tenth and twentieth penny † increased. As early as Feb. 1568, Fourquevaux writes from Madrid:—Alva demands reinforcements, as affairs go ill in Flanders, and 2000 veteran soldiers have left him to take service elsewhere, for example, with France, or with the Huguenots. He himself presses for his recall, but Spain is deficient in men of ability, and it will be difficult to find a competent successor ‡.

In several letters of Morillon, of the first six months of the year 1572, we find the following expressions. Many provinces wish to send deputies to the King to remind him of his oath, but Alva will not allow it §. Good men and bad are alike discontented with

* The value of the ships detained by Elizabeth was estimated at six millions. Granvelle, xxvii. 7. March 13, 1569, and p. 149. 154.

† Aug. 18, 1572. Granvelle, xxviii. 158.

‡ St. Germain, 228. 790.

§ Jan. 1572. Morillon, vii. 1—9. Granvelle deemed it very unbecoming, that the abbots in Brabant had spoken of

him and his tenth penny. They close the shops, and the Duke, on his part, wishes to exclude from trading all who persist in their obstinacy. When Alva in full council declared, it was the King's will that the tenth penny should be paid, Viglius told him—"Whensoever the Queen Mary of Hungary received orders from the King, she used to lay them before the council. Albeit no one entertains any doubt as to those which your Excellency may have, it were well advised, nevertheless, (in order to justify the measure to the people,) to exhibit them." The Duke fell hereupon into extreme fury, swore by his beard that all must be executed without alteration, and added,—“Councillors who set themselves up against the will of the sovereign ought to lose their heads.” Elsewhere, however, it is asserted, all the councillors in the beginning voted for the tenth and twentieth penny, and partly looked more to their own advantage than that of the King*.

They are astonished in Spain, says Morillon, to find resistance in a country which they were wont to consider as thoroughly reduced to subjection. Every

mutual obligations of oath between the King and his subjects.
viii. April 24, 1572.

* Champagny, Mem. iv. 12.

thing announces a new disturbance*, and yet Alva remains so proud and indifferent that he will not even read the remonstrances presented to him, and in all his difficulties does not forbear from expense. Everywhere is the poverty so excessive that the means of subsistence fail, and people are compelled to sell their furniture. The open country is insecure, trade is prostrate, the merchants procure no new wares, the soldiers respect nothing. Yet, in these circumstances, Alva said to Viglius, "It is better the King should lose the country than have disobedient subjects." When, however, in order to enforce the payment of the tenth penny, he caused the goods of the citizens to be put up to the best bidder, there were no purchasers†; and when he endeavoured to raise sailors they all disappeared, and he exclaimed, "I can trust no man here; all are traitors."

At last, Philip himself came to the conclusion, that the unusual and military mode of government might embitter the public mind, and he despatched Medina Celi (albeit too late) to the Netherlands‡.

* Feb. and March 1572. Morillon, vii. 17—47.

† Junius, p. 120.

‡ Letter of Hoppers, July 10, 1572.

Champigny *, a distinguished statesman, furnished him with a report on the causes of the disturbances †, in which he remarks, “ Sufficient regard has not been paid to the constitution of the country, its original privileges, and the indispensability of commerce. A tribunal has been set up, which, in bloodthirsty fashion, rides over all laws and forms, and confiscates property to its own advantage. Excesses of every kind are permitted to the soldiers, so that all persons, spiritual as well as lay, are discontented.

In like manner Hoppers ‡ (otherwise a faithful servant of the King) explained the grounds of the troubles. Forgetfulness of God, neglect and usurpation of the government, wantonness of the soldiery, self-interest in the confiscations, abominably cruel judicial proceedings, want of confidence in a sovereign far removed, and arbitrary conduct of ministers unrestrained by reflection or fear.

Later, we find a voluminous correspondence between Philip, Hoppers, the Councillors, &c. upon the pardon to be granted §. The King constantly added new conditions and exceptions, and the whole

* Brother to Granvelle.

† Granvelle, xxvii. p. 219.

‡ Hoppers, 11. 137.

§ Hoppers in 4th vol.

tenor of the proceeding shews how business ought *not* to be conducted in form or substance *.

Medina Celi convinced himself every day more and more that Alva had misled the mind of the King, yet the Duke retained almost absolute power†. Even Medina's concessions could amount to little, for he was neither empowered to alter the edicts against heresy, nor to remit the tenths‡. Nor in the lengthy proposals for reform furnished by Champagne, did their author venture once to make mention of religion. For the rest, it runs,—The bishops must do their duty, and the lay authorities keep a watchful eye over priests and monks§. Every thing introduced by Alva must be altered, in particular his

* The plan for conciliating the people of the Netherlands, by what was called a general pardon, was twice attempted, once by Alva, and a second time by Requesens, without much effect. The first proclamation was so clogged with exceptions, as to be matter of laughter, and Viglius, who had drawn the original draught in a comprehensive spirit, could hardly recognize his work, when returned with amendments from Madrid. [Tr.]

† Morillon, vii. 128 and 144, June and July, 1572. He, moreover, describes Alva as a monster.

‡ Granvelle, xxix. 7.

§ Granvelle, xxviii. 224.

taxes *. Every injured person must be indemnified, every extortioner punished, no more useless persons taken into the council †. Only the frontier towns should receive garrisons. The gradual restoration of much of the confiscated property appears necessary ; nay, we must prepare for the calling back of the Prince of Orange, in this manner, by restoring him his son, on condition of the latter receiving a Catholic education.

Of all this, nothing in fact took place, and the later stadtholders, as well as the former, were bound hand and foot with regard to the affairs of the church ‡. The following fragments of letters of the time are applicable here.

Granvelle writes, Jan. 11, 1578 : It is not the wish to alter the religion, or to rebel against the sovereign which has once more placed arms in the hands of the Netherlanders §, but the bad treatment which

* Chantonay, vii. 134. It appears that many German nobles received pensions out of the Spanish and Flemish revenues.

† Vargas and Rio had enriched themselves, and brought with them from Italy incomes of 14,000 dollars.

‡ According to Belfontaine, *Lettres* i. 151, John of Austria had talent for war, but despised negociation, and had no jurists about him. He died of a malignant fever.

§ Granvelle, xxx. 111.

they suffered at Meehlin, Naarden, and other places. The first confederacies were, it is true, composed of such as loved neither peace nor justice, and (like Orange) were loaded with debts. These men held out liberty to the people, and dazzled those who looked no further. The rich thought differently. It remains, however, certain, that they did not understand the spirit of the nation, but wished to serve the King too well, and would yield nothing to circumstances. I alone counselled lenient measures, and yet I was more maltreated than any man *.

Oct. 8, 1579. Philip II. wrote to Margaret, offering to replace her in the vice-government of the Netherlands, and recommending two things to her special attention; the maintenance of the Catholic religion, and of his rights †. She might grant every thing with a reserve of these two points. Margaret, it is true, doubted that she could really be of use to the King, if he entrusted her with no greater power ‡, yet betook herself to the Netherlands, July 19, 1580. She wrote, however, to Granvelle, that the King

* This may be true in respect to the cases of individuals, but hardly in matters of religion. Granvelle, xxxii. 57. April 7, 1582.

† Granvelle, xxxi. 37.

‡ Letter to Granvelle, Dec. 9. 1579. Granvelle, xxxi. 40.

abandoned her entirely, and would not even answer her most important representations. She despaired, when she contemplated the indifference which he displayed in circumstances of such consequence. The Cardinal should press the conviction upon him, that he must change his policy and transmit money, otherwise all would be lost. Granvelle says, in answer *: Since Philip would do everything himself, all must drag slowly on. Yet Margaret might, for the sake of the public, share the administration of affairs with her son. Between the two, however, lively differences arose. Thus writes Margaret to the Cardinal, May 16, 1580 †: I cannot place myself at the head of the government, as my son refuses to obey me, on the pretext that such a division of power is disadvantageous to the royal service. Nay, the Duke (of Parma) would fain quit the country, as considering it against his honour to possess less power than was formerly held by the Cardinal. The latter caused him, however, to observe, that by such a step he would ruin all with the King.

This contention went on unsettled through the entire summer, and Margaret, on the 7th September,

* Jan. 7, 1581. Granvelle, xxxi. 122.

† Granvelle, xxxi. 149. 159.

1581, communicated to the king, through Granvelle, her wish to return home*.

Nearly at the end of Granvelle's memoirs, is a treatise by his own hand, on the grounds of the Netherlands revolt†. He names, bad financial management, small regard for the administration of justice, destruction of trade, incursion of foreign heretics, aversion to foreigners in office, pride and rapacity of the Spaniards, &c. The first and principal ground, however, is the will of God, and his unfailing and unalterable decrees for the punishment of sin and wantonness. For the prosperity of the country was too great, so that men out of mere wantonness gave themselves up to vice. The nobles deemed themselves on a par with kings, although not in condition to defray the capital or interest of their debts. They therefore sought out disturbance, and respected no decisions of law. The Prince of Orange owed to the deceased Queen of Hungary, that he owed 800,000 *france tonen*. The merchants would fain rival the nobility, yea even surpass them, and

* Granvelle, xxxi. 179, 217. According to Champigny's Memoirs, 1592, (I. 74. 111.,) Parma intended to retire of his own accord from the Netherlands. He died in terrible convulsions.

† Granvelle, xxxiii. 274.

there is close friendship between them, the one wanting the money of the other";—so far Granvelle. Taught by experience, he may have become more lenient and provident, yet it is evidence of darker error that he approves, (with reference to the example of Italian princes,) the placing a price upon the head of Orange; nay, even praises his assassination, as an heroic action*.

Sept. 6, 1594†. Don Diego Ibarra writes from Brussels to Don Juan Idiaques:—Our affairs go on ill, both in France and here. Both maladies require the same treatment, viz., a strong, well paid, and well commanded army. The Duke Ernest is not of sufficient robust health to bear these exertions, and the others have neither good will nor confidence to make them fit to be trusted with the sword of the King; they want determination and boldness both in speech and action. The mildness so often recommended for the purpose of putting affairs in better train, must be combined with great firmness, if it is to produce results.

The Duke is an angel; but he must be surrounded with right-minded people, and the evil-minded

* Bibl. Roy. Manuscripts des Pays Bas, No. 377. Letters of Nov. 13, 1579, and July 4, 1580. Bellefontaine Lettres, I. 438. July 23, 1584.

† Bibl. Cotton. Vespasian, F. ix. fol. 291.

must be removed, and he brought to trust the true servants of his uncle, to avoid suspecting them, and conceal nothing from them. If we be not good and true, get rid of us; but it is unbecoming that Flemings, Germans, and Italians should instil into the Duke suspicion of the King's ministers; nay, it is necessary to withhold from them all means of access, by which they can produce such results.

LETTER XVII.

Relations between France and Spain.—The Massacre of Paris.—Philip's joy.—Flanders.—Alva's return to Spain.—New dealings with France.—War with England.—Bad condition of Spain.—The Court of Madrid, and Philip in old age.

ALTHOUGH the accounts of the ambassadors at Madrid for the years subsequent to the death of Don Carlos are not so rich in their contents, as those for former years, yet they contain much that is worthy of mention. The first half of the year 1572 was passed in negociations about peace and war. One perceives meanwhile, through all their mutual assurances, that Spain and France no longer trusted each other, and that preparations for war (ostensibly intended only for defence) brought war itself every day nearer.

June 22, 1572, the French Ambassador St. Goar writes from Madrid *: I believe, in fact, that Philip

* St. Germain, 791, and 228, b. c.

would fain avoid a rupture with your Majesty, but as suspicion excites him from every quarter, as he fears for the Netherlands, and the enterprizes of Count Louis of Nassau vex him, they will, perhaps, advise him, to use the great means which stand at the command of Spain, for the purpose of employing your Majesty elsewhere. July 1, St. Goar adds, the King of Spain assures, that he would willingly preserve peace, but that he has great cause to fear an attack from France. I am, moreover, persuaded, he will not break unless compelled. Your Majesty has peace and war at your disposal.

As early as June 25, 1572, the King of France had written to St. Goar:—Were I only sure that they would undertake nothing against me, I would not mix myself up in foreign transactions. But it is to be feared Philip will not have made such great preparations for nothing.

Philip answered hereupon, after his manner, in general terms*, but was colder even than usual, and very gloomy. He begins, (says St. Goar,) to hate the Duke of Alva, and considers him as the author of the present dangers, and of the loss of Flanders.

* Sept. 5, before the receipt of the accounts of St. Bartholomew.

He says he had rather lose all his other dominions than these.

Meanwhile arrived the account of the affair of St. Bartholomew at Madrid, which made a revolution in all political relations. Catherine wrote with reference to it, August 29th, to St. Goar*. After this alteration we are embarked for the same happy destination as Spain, the welfare of one lays the foundation for that of the other, and our friendship may easily be restored. The Reformed looked to nothing but the overthrow of the State; and what with the power which their leaders had acquired during the troubles, it was impossible to ward off the evil. Now with God's help, the King will every where find obedience, and those who by their acts had reduced him to be their colleague, will for the future not withstand him or throw his realm into confusion.

September 12, 1572†, St. Goar answered: King Philip received the account of St. Bartholomew's night on the evening of the 7th, by a courier of Don Diegos. He has shewn upon the receipt of it, contrary to his nature and wont, as much and more joy than upon all the luck and prosperity which has

* Probably some papers are here wanting, and I was not in condition to decypher some.

† P. 60. Erroneously classed with the year 1573.

ever befallen him. He cried out to all his people, or ordered them to be sent for, and said to them, "He now saw that your Majesty was his good brother." The next day I had an audience of the King, where he (who otherwise never laughed) began to laugh, and shewed the greatest satisfaction and content. He began with praising your Majesty on account of your title of most Christian King, and said there was no king who could be compared with your Majesty in bravery and wisdom. He next praised to himself the determination, and the long dissimulation of so great an undertaking. Nay the world would scarcely be brought to conceive how it should have come to pass at the right moment, contrary to all appearances and to the expectation of so many worthy, peace-loving people, when some were almost dead with fear of an unhappy war, and others had prepared themselves for satisfying their ambition and insolence. It pleased God, however, to raise up your Majesty as a defence and protection against the incursion of the misery threatened by so many tyrants, who had conspired against the honour and the laws of all sovereigns.

Philip, moreover, ordered processions and a *Te Deum*; he even ordered all the Bishops to have processions and thanksgivings in their dioceses, especially for the King of France. He expressed in

general, distinctly, what he thought of the event, and shewed his displeasure towards those who tried to make him believe that it had taken place on a sudden and without deliberation. When I heard this, (says St. Goar,) I went to the Prince Eboli, and the Prior Don Antonio di Toledo, and complained that so little thanks were given your Majesty for such work, of which it might be said that it had fallen out as much in fact to the advantage of the King of Spain as that of the King my master. But now they wished to deprive him of the glory he had merited, and to repay so great a benefaction with ingratitude. Those persons excused themselves, praised, thanked, &c.

September 19, St. Goar writes to Queen Catherine: The world is astonished that this affair was so happily conducted in one day, and that it came to pass at a moment when least expected, and to the extraordinary advantage of all Christendom. King Philip, whose affairs are advanced by it, has received the account as well as possible, and although he is of all princes upon earth the most capable of concealing his thoughts, and makes it his occupation to do so, this time he has not been able to hide his joy.

As the expectations founded on the event failed for France, so did they for Spain *. March 30th, 1573,

* St. Germain, Vol. 792.

St. Goar writes: Your Majesty will scarcely believe, with what anxiety they conceal the news from Flanders. The Duke of Alva goes on complaining that the moderation shewn by the Duke of Medina, has ruined his plans. One party was made remiss by it, and the other bolder, and himself the more hated.

Charles IX. who a few months before had wished to defend the Netherlands against Alva's tyranny, wrote, April 6, 1573, in conjunction with his mother, to St. Goar: It is thought strange that the King of Spain should talk of pardoning those who have done him such injury and brought so much evil and misery upon Christendom, and this at a moment, when he is on the point, after so much outlay of men and money, to arrive at an honourable termination. According to what is here openly spoken on this subject he runs the risk of coming into evil report, and being accused of timidity, after having gained so much honour and reputation by his former words and actions. He should take example from me. The more I sought to end the troubles in my kingdom by friendly methods, and to satisfy the Reformers, so much the more did their rapacity and boldness lead them to undertakings against me. The King of Spain will now nourish a serpent in his bosom. Affairs are now in such good train, that he has only to proceed with energy and perseverance.

It may be doubted whether raging fanaticism dictated this letter, or mere craft, in order to throw Philip into still greater difficulties. It is certain that order and repose were not to be restored by treading in the steps of Alva. It was necessary to recall him. April 4, 1574, St. Goar writes to Paris: The Duke of Alva arrived here on the last day of February, not by day, but purposely towards ten in the evening, on which account he was little accompanied. There were great numbers came out to meet him, who returned home on his giving out that he should not arrive by day. He alighted at the house of the Prior Don Antonio, and proceeded thence to kiss the hands of the King and Queen. I am told he knelt twice, and twice the King laid his arms about his neck. I caused him to be watched going in and coming out, and am informed that his brow betrayed discontent, and that he was much fallen from the pride with which he treated every one at his entrance into Spain, &c. The King has not granted him the recall of his son, who, on account of an intrigue with a lady of the court, was banished, and the president of the council of the troubles has likewise received an order to absent himself from court. The second morning, Alva went again, numerously attended, to the King. Yet they say he will soon retire to Alva, and the King will make public his displeasure at all

his doings, in order to appease the Flemings, and give them to understand, they were not maltreated by his consent.

Alva, nevertheless, persevered in advocating war, while Medina took the lead among those who pressed for peace and treating*. The King shewed an unfriendly countenance to Alva, and named notorious enemies of his house for judges in his son's case. Alva, however, made shew of cheerfulness, and concealed his passions.

Notwithstanding the massacre of Paris caused for a time an appearance of good understanding between France and Spain, yet grounds soon sprung up for suspicion and contention. Philip complained especially of the Duke of Alençon's incursion into the Netherlands, which in reply, Henry III. sought to represent as a consequence of the suggestions of Elizabeth, in order to bring on a breach between England and Spain. Philip told St. Goar†, my actions speak my policy. Notwithstanding many provocations and opportunities, I have embraced no movements or innovation, but rather have shewn so much patience in all things, that my own affairs suffer.

* St. Goar, June 27, and August 19, 1574.

† July 2, 1582.

On the other hand, the French Ambassador Longlee writes from Madrid to Paris *: I believe that Philip and the Guises have negociated these six or seven years. The King and his ministers look to nothing but what advances their own affairs, and ruins those of their neighbours. In particular they wish to promote differences and rebellion among your Majesty's subjects; for this they allege would be the counterpart of what the French have done in the Netherlands, that the whole difference would turn upon this, that France would have taken part with Huguenots, Spain with Catholics.

Soon, however, the feud with England occupied so prominent a place, that Philip sought to avoid any further contest with France. The following are extracts from the despatches of Longlee.

1588, February 15. The 9th of this month died Santa Croce in Lisbon, of a fever; out of which so much the more prejudice and delay will arise for the army and fleet, as he, on account of his courage and good fortune, was much esteemed by all, and there are few capable of filling such a command. Yet it is conjectured that it will be given to the Duke of Medina Sidonia, a rich man, and one prac-

* May 24, and October 28, 1585. St. Germain, 796.

tised in state affairs, who is universally designated as the fittest successor for Santa Croce, although he has not yet commanded at sea. The King is much dissatisfied that every thing was not made ready for embarkation last year; but seamen and gunners are still wanting, and the breaking out of contagious disorders is apprehended *. The preparations in general since the death of Santa Croce appear to proceed more slowly, and we see here a great number of gentlemen who do not over hurry themselves to join the army, pursuant to their destination. We doubt, therefore, more than ever the great consequences of this undertaking.

After Medina Sidonia had arrived at Lisbon on March 13, he informed himself of the condition of the army and fleet, and sought to remedy deficiencies †; but he had no experience, and had hardly any old officers about him. One cannot conceive, (says Longlee,) how Philip can begin this enterprize against England ‡ before he has obtained security that his Majesty will not disturb his plans. Elizabeth meanwhile takes courage, as she sees an agreement is impossible; moreover, the result, when we consider the quality of the forces here and there, is very doubtful.

* March 5, 1588.

† March 25.

‡ May 6.

June 19. The fleet was attacked by a storm which lasted two days and nights* and forced the Duke of Medina Sidonia to take refuge in the harbour of Corunna, with about the half of his ships. The others were obliged to make for the open sea, and reached later, and with difficulty, harbours and creeks on the coasts of Galicia and Biscay. A month will be past in repairing damages; in the meanwhile the season is passing away, provisions will be consumed, the infantry suffer, and new grounds for delay may daily arise.

The unlucky termination of the entire enterprise is well known; on the coasts of Ireland alone 18 ships and 6204 prisoners were taken†. The situation of Philip and Spain became every day more gloomy. He will (says Granvelle) do every thing, and yet does little or nothing‡. He shrinks from every decision, troubles himself as little for his own fame as that of others, and thinks he has gained every thing, when he only gains time. Of what passes among our neighbours nothing is known in Spain. Few men are satisfied there.

August 3, 1591. The French ambassador Maise

* Report of July 6, 1588.

† St. Germain, 797.

‡ Granvelle, xx. 129, xxx. 106, xxxii. 11. Morillon, viii.

writes to Henry IV.*: In many parts of Spain such as Barcelona, Valentia, Saragossa, are popular revolts arising, for the most part out of the rigour of the royal officers. The King makes use of the Inquisitors if he chooses to carry any thing through by arbitrary means. Thus has there an auto taken place in Toledo, at which three persons of rank suffered, and upwards of 300 people were thrown into prison.

June 17, 1597. The Count Cantecroix writes to Champaigny †: King Philip is old, averse from occupation and conversation. With all his ill humours and infirmities, he goes one day to the Pardo, the next to Aranjuez, the third to the Escorial. Nothing is more insupportable to him than an audience, and for a year and a day no one has done business with him face to face. There have been here for a long time an immense number of strangers, who, however, could see no prospect of a termination to their affairs. The Spaniards themselves are very discontented, from the highest to the lowest. The ministers venture to say to him nothing but what pleases him, and he will follow no views but his own. And in the reality he knows more of business

* Maisse Ambassades, Vol. II. p. 59.

† Champaigny, Mem. à Besançon, II. p. 302.

than all these ignoramuses. The Spaniards wish their King possessed no dominions but Spain and the Indies, inasmuch as the rest only cost money and men, and are the cause of new imposts and contributions.

LETTER XVIII.

The Portuguese succession.—Claims of Philip.—Antonio di Prato.—Philip in Abrantes.—His behaviour.—Disposition and behaviour of the Portuguese.

UPON the union of Portugal with Spain the despatches of the French ambassador St. Goar, and some letters appended to them, from Lisbon and Abrantes, contain the following :

1. Anonymous letter to St. Goar. Lisbon, March 15, 1579.

The 20th last month the Duke of Ossuna came to this town, and was very well received. He demanded of King Henry* to cause allegiance to be sworn to Philip II. as Prince of Portugal, and pointed out several grounds why the kingdom should be held to belong to him†. The King answered ; he

* The Cardinal of that name who succeeded his nephew Sebastian, killed in Africa, in 1578. He reigned only 18 months.
[Tr.]

† St. Goar. St. Germain, Vol. 793.

would order the subject to be legally investigated, and that all Philip's just rights should be preserved to him. He also acquainted the King of Spain, and the Duke of Savoy, Don Antonio, the prior of Prato*, and the wife of the Duke of Braganza, that he would open a legal inquiry on the above question on the 10th in Lisbon, at which every one concerned might prefer their claims, and take cognizance of the proceedings. Hereupon Philip has written to the authorities of the town that he had so often proved his claim, and was so satisfied of his right, that he would not allow it to be again questioned, or send plenipotentiaries to the meeting. If they

* Natural son of the Infant Louis Duke of Bega, who was elder brother to King Henry. He had been taken prisoner in the battle with the Moors, in which Sebastian perished, but escaped after a month's captivity. He asserted his claim to the crown on the death of Henry, and being warmly supported by the nation, held Lisbon and the northern provinces for some time against the Spaniards, but after repeated defeats by land and sea was forced to fly. The national hate of the Portuguese towards the Spaniards made them proof against a reward of 80,000 ducats, offered by Philip for his capture. He took refuge in France, and in 1582 obtained from Catherine of Medicis the assistance of a fleet and army for another attempt upon Portugal. He was again defeated, and returning to Paris, died there in 1595, aged 64. [Tr.]

were not inclined to concede it to him with good will, he would take measures to assert it by force.

The civil magistrate laid this letter to day before King Henry, who immediately sent for the Spanish ambassador, Christoval de Mora, and said to him in great wrath: He was dealing contrary to his duty, in endeavouring to seduce his, the King's, subjects in such a manner.

This legal enquiry has not yet commenced, but the deputies of all the towns and commons of the realm are already arrived; and on the 20th the King means to open to them his views, at St. Francisco. As the affair is likely to be long, they have been invited to choose from ten to twelve of their ablest men to assist at the proceeding, and for the rest, for the saving of expense, to betake themselves home. They answered: "We do not choose to commit the realm to the hands of those judges. The King may open the proceeding, we will then speak." Hereupon the King wished to name four viceroys, but with this also they would have nothing to do.

The entire people are determined to take Don Antonio for their King, and to die rather than submit to have another forced upon them. He was already summoned back to the spot, but when the King heard of this determination of the people, he ordered

Antonio to remain at Abrantes till further instructions. If he, Antonio, find himself unable to carry his views into effect, he intends at least to raise an insurrection in the Indies and the islands, and to apply to France.

2. Anonymous letter to St. Goar.

June 20, 1580.—Don Antonio was proclaimed King at Santarem, was brought in procession with banners to the town house, and received homage from the people, the authorities, and some of the nobility*. Don Coutinho, the first alcalde and military commandant of the town and its circle, would, however, neither acknowledge him as King, nor give up to him the keys of the town.

When this account reached Setuval, where the Governors and the Cortes were collected, it was very ill-received, especially by the Duchess of Braganza, and Antonio and his adherents were denounced as rebels. All see and feel that if such divisions exist, and Antonio on one side and Philip on the other, advance with an army, every thing must go to ruin. Antonio caused immediately all the royal possessions and treasures in Almeyrim to be seized, and came, on St. John's day in the evening,

* St. Germain, No. 794, p. 94.

to Lisbon. He first went to the great church, then, accompanied by many ecclesiastics, and amid dances and rejoicings, to the palace by the sea. He found there Don Pedro D'Acuna, the commander of the militia of this town and the vicinity, with a considerable force, and was by him earnestly entreated, and requested with many words, not to throw into disturbance the town and people entrusted to his care. Hereupon Antonio was greatly embarrassed, and at last asked the by-standers: "Who then am I?" They cried out,—“Our King!”—displayed a banner, and conducted him to the palace.—It is said, he has taken possession of all the money in the Indian-house and Custom-house; many, however, of the principal officials have betaken themselves to Setuval, to make their reports to the Governors.

3. Letter of the same hand. June 30, 1580.

Don Antonio has, since his arrival in Lisbon, made himself master of the Royal palace, the treasure, and other property, has caused some of the nobility opposed to him, among others, a Tavora, under colour of newly discovered grounds of accusation *, to be beheaded. He then proceeded to Setuval, from whence

* Su color de nuevas achaques.

two of the Governors fled to Algarres, the others coming to terms with Antonio. It is also reported that Christoval de Mora has escaped, and that his house with some others have been plundered; that the Papal Nuncio has said mass before Antonio.

4. July 1, 1580.

Don Antonio has issued a general order, that no one, on pain of death, should acknowledge any one else as King, or listen to other orders than his *. Yet many when required to declare themselves have answered, they would abide by whomsoever the Governors should proclaim.

5. Abrantes. March 13, 1581.

Friday, March 10. About 4 in the afternoon, King Philip entered this city, and displayed more satisfaction outwardly than the native Portuguese. The latter are, collectively and individually, devoted to Don Antonio and the bishop of Guardia, and nourish a rooted hatred against the Castilians. Four days since a Portuguese negro fell into a dispute with a Castilian vagabond, (picaro,) upon some occasion as insignificant as the parties. The Portuguese

* Aug. 8, 1593. Henry IV. granted Emmanuel, the son of Antonio, a pension of 1200 dollars for his subsistence.

by-standers, however, immediately took part in the fray, and it came to a general fight between them, and the Castilians dispersed about the streets, who were attacked even by the women with missiles from the windows.

The King has made his solemn entry, and after receiving the keys of the city, has been conducted to the palace under a canopy.

6. Letters to St. Goar. May 15, 29, and June 12, 1581.

They report as certain, that the King's counsellor, Villefane, has produced such clear evidence of the conduct of the Duke of Alva and his son, that many of the complaints of the Portuguese will be substantiated, unless all be hushed up on account of the services of the accused.

The Portuguese are so forcible in words, but so beaten down in fact, that they confirm with their own hands a wretched system of slavery. These people are the most troublesome, inconsiderate, and insupportable in the world; yet they will follow you where you please, provided you leave them the liberty of talking and complaint, as one does to fools, for which, in fact, the Castilians reckon them.

No man, who does not see it, can believe with what patience the King bears the daily importunities

of the Portuguese. Nay, this patience in enduring their impertinences is so great, that they despond about it themselves and say, he will one day make them pay for the trouble they now give him. And although he shews himself condescending, affable, and liberal to all, and a general pardon has been published, they find out sometimes one and sometimes another, with whom they seek a German quarrel, (*querelle D'Allemand*;) or behead as a follower of Antonio. This is the easier, as the Portuguese, from the highest to the lowest, are split into parties, accuse one another, and seek, for their own advantage, to ruin even those, whose dearest friends they profess to be. In all this, the King of Spain finds himself greatly embarrassed with these Portuguese, and if people were to be found who could form an union among themselves, or with others, his affairs would suffer the greatest damage.

LETTER XIX.

The Spanish court in 1611.—Public table of the Queen.—Airings of the Queen and rides of the King.

IN the 10th vol. of the Italian reports in the library at Paris is a long description of Spain, its manners, usages, authorities, revenues, expenses, &c., in the year 1611. The following are specimens*.

1. Public table of the Queen†.

At the principal festivals of the year, for example, at Easter, their Majesties are accustomed to eat in public, on which occasions, with respect to the Queen, the following is to be seen and done. The master-cooks set out the table under a canopy, cover

* *Relaçion de las cosas de España y villa de Madrid. Corte real, &c.,* p. 181.

† Margaret of Austria, daughter of the Archduke Charles, married to Philip III. in 1599. [Tr.]

it, place the requisite vessels, and spread over all a second cloth.

First, there proceed three detachments of the royal body-guard, the sceptre bearers with their silver and gilded sceptres, the upper intendant of the household and the gentlemen pages, all, except the intendant, bareheaded. As soon as the viands are placed, after the direction of the intendant, the Queen is informed, who then appears with her ladies, and takes her seat. A chaplain now comes forward, who blesses the meal, and is commonly presented by the Queen with a portion of the best dishes.

Company is then admitted to see the Queen, but not beyond a stated number, nor of every description. A lady lifts the covers from a dish, a second points it out to the Queen, a third lays it before her, except the Queen by a slight sign of her head reject it. Commonly fifteen dishes are served up, besides the entrés and the dessert. The ladies, usually fair and attractive, carry over the shoulder very clean napkins, and conduct themselves very adroitly in their service.

If the Queen requires any thing, to drink, for example, she makes a sign with her head to the first lady; she makes a sign to the lady of the cups; the lady of the cups nods to the chief intendant; the

chief intendant to one of the gentlemen pages ; and after the sign is made, all make low obeisances to the Queen before they pass on the signal. The chief intendant, the page, and an intendant go to the door ; the first receives from the cellar master a large crystal goblet and holds it with the right hand, and with the left a gilded salver. He returns with the intendant and the page to the lady of the cups, and gives her the goblet and salver. Both advance to the Queen with the page, kneel, and offer her to drink. Nothing of the above ceremonial is ever omitted, the presentation of goblet, salver, or glass, the particular mode of taking off and putting on the cover, and of putting every thing back in its place.

The proceeding is the same with the dessert, and the washing, when the table is removed.

The nobles who are present, but not on service, stand at one side of the room, and converse with the ladies, as they do with their lovers. Those on service only make low bows, and ogle from a distance.

The proceeding is the same when the King eats in public. If he does so at the same time with the Queen, the attendance and ceremonies are doubled, to the great contentment of the spectators.

2. The airings of the King and Queen, and the riding of the King.

When their Majesties choose to go out, a signal is made with drums and trumpets, upon which the ladies and gentlemen already advertised, the courtiers, attendants, grooms, and lacqueys, put themselves in motion in a prescribed order.

As soon as their Majesties are arrived in the vicinity of the coach, and the persons appointed to help them in mounting are gathered round them, the King takes off his hat and makes an obeisance to the Queen, which she returns. She mounts first and seats herself on the right hand. In another coach follows the entire court attendance, and among the guards riding at the side, the gallants of the ladies mix themselves. At the head of the whole procession move the lacqueys bare-headed; then follow the coaches of the Chief Intendant and Master of the Horse; then their Majesties, the pages on foot, bare-headed and without cloaks, the halberdiers, the carriages of the first Lady Intendant, and the other ladies. The coach of the King is usually lined with green velvet, with gold bolts and handles, and covered with green waxed cloth outside.

When the King rides out, all the people of the court who can ride, join him, the officers of the royal

stable, the town magistrate, the procurators, secretary, and other officials, the pages and body guard. If the King chooses to ride simply and without ceremony, he is accompanied by not above an hundred persons.

LETTER XX.

Philip III.—Situation of Spain.—Expulsion of the Moors.—
Revolt of Portugal.

AFTER the death of Philip II., the history of Spain subsides more and more into insignificance, and the diplomatic reports treat almost exclusively of little court bickerings, affairs of trade, navigation, and piracy, &c. The fear or the hope that Philip the Third's cleverer, more statesmanlike sister*, might gain more

* Les Espagnols vont entrer sous la domination d'un jeune prince sans experience, lequel, que scait on, sera troublée par sa propre sœur princesse ainée. Nourrie aux affaires du royaume, y ayant déjà pris l'habitude de commander, et s'y ayant acquis des serviteurs, et comme on dit qu'elle a beaucoup de ressemblance à son pere, il faut croire qu'elle aura degenerée en ambition. Luxembourg, ambassade de Rome. Bib. Royale, Vol. viii. p. 41.

Isabella Clara Eugenia, daughter of Philip II., by Elizabeth of France, born 1566. Philip's favourite child, and initiated by

influence was not fulfilled; and if the conclusion of an armistice with the Netherlands on the one hand, appear as an advantage for the exhausted monarchy, the cotemporaneous expulsion of the Moors was a so much the greater folly, and a so much the more despicable outrage.

September 11 *. The King ordered the following communication on this subject to the jurats (jurados) of Valentia. You know the exertions which for many years past have been made for the conversion of the new Christians, the laws which have been passed, with what assiduity they have been instructed

him in all the mysteries of his policy. The attempt of Philip and the violent Catholics of France to place her on the throne of that country on the death of Henry III., forms a memorable passage in the history of its civil dissensions. She was married in 1597, to the Cardinal Archduke Albert, and placed with him at the head of the government of the Netherlands. She assisted in person at the siege of Ostend, and made a vow not to change her linen till the reduction of the place. The siege lasting three years, three months, and three days, it is not surprising that her linen should have acquired a tawny hue, which, in compliment to her, obtained the name of Isabelle. She managed the affairs of the Netherlands with consummate ability, baffling the intrigues even of Richelieu till her death in 1633. Philip II., on his death bed, called her *Le miroir et la lumière de ses yeux*. [Tr.]

* Brunault desepches. St. Germain MSS., Vol. 800.

in the Christian faith, and how little all this has availed. For not one converted himself, while all from day to day became more obstinate, and more inclined to forge dissensions, as of old, against the realm, and to prepare dangers. On this account, very learned and holy men advise to take short methods, to which I am in any case bound by my duty to resort. They assure me that I ought to chastise the Moors without regard to life or property, on account of the long continuance, magnitude, and scandal of their offences; they pronounce them convict of heresy, revolt, and treason, to the majesty of God and man. Although all alike have merited by their offences, to suffer death, I yet wished to subdue them by mild and gentle methods, and established a junta in Valentia for the purpose of introducing new instruction, and effecting new conversions. Instead of accepting these, the Moors turned themselves to Constantinople and Morocco, and other heretics, sued for aid, and represented an enterprize against this country as easy, because it was suffering from want of men and money.

For the maintenance of my dominions and the salvation of my good subjects from the horrible dangers of the heresy and revolt of that godless race, who injure our Saviour and his people, I have, in trust on God, and for his honour, determined, that all Moors

shall be driven out of Spain. Your peace and security, my beloved subjects, have principally brought me to this determination, for we ought not to let ourselves be surprised by enemies so mighty, and I hope that all of you, as good Christians and true subjects, will join in this most acceptable service, and to this end.

Next to the expulsion of the Moors, was the revolt of Portugal, the most serious loss to Spain. I found the following accounts of it in an Italian dispatch *. The commotions which in 1638 took place in Evora, led the Spanish ministers to decide on weakening their force in Portugal. They sent therefore, four superior officers into the four provinces of the kingdom, and ordered that 6000 men should be marched every year to Flanders or Castille. They further burthened the nobles with contributions to be levied from the royal fiefs and the property of the orders. They ordered that for three years, a fourth of all such property should be paid into the state; and at last insisted that many thousand Portuguese should be sent to quell the troubles in Catalonia, and the expense be covered by a general income tax. Only the attempt to seduce the Duke of Braganza to Spain failed. The Portuguese vexed in such a va-

* *Relatione del successo di Portugallo.* MSS. Dupuy, 568.

riety of ways, sent deputies to the Duke, and asked him whether he would assume the sovereignty? He, however, answered obstinately—No! They replied, if he would not undertake the sovereignty, they would found a republic. This plan was frustrated by the Archbishop of Lisbon, who said, that if they should do this, the war would be unjust, wherefore they must prevail upon the Duke, on account of the injustice, the danger, and the oppression to which they were exposed, to accept their invitation. And so it fell out. He was called to the throne, Vasconcellos * thrown out of a window, a solemn procession ordered by the Archbishop, at which a manifest miracle took place: namely, while he was preaching to the people, he prayed that a crucifix which he held in his hand, might give a sign, if it approved of the election of Braganza to the throne. The image of our Lord extricated its right hand from the nail, and gave with it the sign required. Not to mention other miracles which took place.

* Vasconcellos, principal minister to the Duchess of Mantua, vice-queen of Portugal. [Tr.]

LETTER XXI.

Barneveldt's plans for war and peace.—Views of France on the Netherlands.

As early as the year 1606, the French ambassador, Buzenval, exerted himself to sway the republic of the United Provinces to the policy of the French government. I communicate three reports which elucidate the circumstances of that period.

1. September 9, 1606.

In the last convention of the Dutch States, Barneveldt has spoken distinctly enough that it was necessary to quit the warlike policy, up to this moment considered the only salutary one, and strike into another course. It being, however, ticklish and hazardous to discuss this matter in the presence of many, we managed that a smaller number of deputies should be selected out of the States, and sworn to secrecy. Before this committee he laid the books of accounts, the statement of the expenditure, debt, present taxes, and the new ones which would be ne-

cessary in the event of the continuance of the war. He then asked the deputies, whether their towns could and would support the last for the time of the war? Whereupon the majority answered it was not possible *.

Hereupon he concluded further that there were but two courses for extrication, either to put themselves under the protection of some prince who would take the chief burthen of the war upon his shoulders, or to condescend to the conclusion of some pacification. In the first event, they could only turn their attention to the King of France, who, however, had hitherto shewn so little inclination to mix himself up in the contest, that he could hardly now be differently disposed, and willing, for insignificant advantages, to undertake the great expenses necessary. It was, therefore, the highest time to put an end to the continued misery by some composition or other. The

* Barneveldt's policy may bear comparison with that of the Athenian Nicias in the matter of the Sicilian expedition.

The peace lately concluded by James I. of England with Spain, had deprived Holland of a powerful ally. The exhaustion of the States was, perhaps, more than equalled by that of Spain, but the military genius of Spinola protracted the contest. The war party headed by Prince Maurice, prevailed, however, for the present against Barneveldt. [Tr.]

enemy offered tolerable conditions, and it was possible to obtain better by proceeding with prudence and foresight, by keeping their affairs in good reputation and condition, and by not suffering their work to be destroyed by rushing hastily on under the influence of difficulties and fear.

Brederode, who was present, to represent the party in the nobility this way inclined, expressed his accordance. The Deputies of Amsterdam and Horn found, on the contrary, the decision startling; and at last it was agreed to postpone the affair for a while, but in the mean time to be preparing the necessary means. Barneveldt denied that he had laid his proposition before Prince Maurice, which, by its adversaries, was thought even more extraordinary. I am satisfied he proceeds in good faith, but he makes his management of affairs suspicious and hated, and exposes his person to danger*.

2. October 11, 1606.

It is not possible within the space of one, two, or three months, to bring over eight provinces with at least forty good equal-privileged towns, to accept a

* The ambassador's anticipations were but too well confirmed by the execution of this great man and undoubted patriot, in 1617. An event which has darkened the lustre of the reputation of its author, Prince Maurice. [Tr.]

foreign prince. We should have to move them in the first place, to stand by the King in the acquisition of the other provinces, and in the expulsion of the Spaniards; then to induce them little by little to the conclusion that no salvation was to be devised unless all the Netherlands should subject themselves to the King. Insomuch, however, as they should determine on keeping a strip of territory to themselves, he would bring them to reason as soon as he should have incorporated into his kingdom the nearest neighbouring territories.

Suppose, however, the case that Prince Maurice and Barneveldt approved and supported this plan; I yet persevere in maintaining, they would not be able to carry it into immediate execution. Nay more, I say, that it would not be advisable to mix ourselves, immediately on the commencement of the war, in such a business. My views are grounded on the disposition and views of this people. The mere lustre of the name of a great Prince who should become their ruler, would make them amuse themselves with staring at him, wondering at his glory, and dressing themselves up in his feathers without being induced to contribute any thing considerable for the support of his grandeur.

You must also calculate that the jealousy of our neighbours, and more especially of the English, will

be faster lulled to rest and rocked, than if we were to discover our appetites too openly at the beginning of the feast. For although we may persuade ourselves that no one will wake, make what noise we may, yet England can well lay many obstacles in our way, especially still possessing, as she does, two important places in these provinces.

3. September 29, 1606. Barneveldt has told me that the affairs of the United Provinces could no longer remain in their present condition. Either they must offer the guardianship, or even the sovereignty, of the country, to the King of France, or choose a prince in the country, or make over some places to the King, to enable him to conduct the war with greater rigour. The first plan he considers impracticable with a people accustomed to their freedom, and even its acceptance by France scarcely practicable; difficulties would arise in the second, as Prince Maurice is much sunken in estimation by the misfortunes of the last two years. On these accounts the third project is almost the only one remaining worthy of attention.

I may append here a specification of the presents which the Dutch ambassador, May 19, 1613, forwarded to the Grand Seigneur. Six partisans embossed with silver studs, and gilded and enamelled blades, and red velvet cases. A gold enamelled suit

of mail for a child of ten years. Four gilded chairs of ebony, and two others covered with embroidered velvet. Two Chinese coffers of wood. Two pair of embroidered gloves. Twenty long dresses of satin, or other silk stuff. Four pieces of cambric. Two gilded goblets made of Indian shells. A great gilded lanthorn. Twenty pieces of fancy workmanship, birds, beasts, and other works of art. Six basons and ewers of Chinese porcelain. Twenty dishes of the same. Two birds of Paradise, &c.

LETTER XXII.

William III.—Princess Amelia.—William Frederick of Nassau.
—John de Witt.—Beverning.—Circumstances and Policy of
Holland.

LOUIS XIV. took great pains to obtain accurate accounts of foreign countries. An official report on the United Netherlands of 1655 exists in the 11th Vol. of the *Melanges de Colbert*. It elucidates the situation, character, and dispositions of each province, the position of parties, religious and political, personal details as to men in power, &c. The following are specimens.

Of the Prince William III., now five years old, nothing can be said except that, with reference to his predecessors, the best hopes may be entertained of him. His grandmother Amelia (born Countess Solms, widow of Frederick-Henry, of Orange) seeks

to maintain her consideration and the ancient usages ; but things have undergone much alteration since the time when she was all powerful, and the appearance only of her former power remains to her. She is treated with respect ; she speaks with dignity and haughtiness. In her house, the order and pomp of a court is still kept up ; but she has in fact little share in the consultations on state affairs, and little trouble is taken to please her in other matters than outward formalities. The Prince, William-Frederick, of Nassau Dietz, her son-in-law, shews her great honour ; but among friends, he says aloud, that he will not allow himself to be led by her counsels, and she, on her part, often and plainly disapproves the conduct of the Prince.

The present interest of the Princess appears to consist in hoarding and increasing her means. While some speak of her as very rich, others hold that she is ill provided with ready money at least, since she is slow in defraying many of her debts, and her ordinary expenses are more ostentatious than necessary. In whatever state, however, may be her purse, she certainly keeps a good eye on the main chance, and lives in a kind of dependence upon Spain, since Zwerenbergh and Turnhout are situated in Brabant, which were given her by Spain, on condition that she should influence her husband, Prince William

Frederick, to embrace the peace of Westphalia. As she is inclined to Spain only out of self-interest, she would become a partisan of France, as soon as she could see her advantage lay that way. She also strives to keep herself in such a position that France may think her of consequence enough to effect something in the Netherlands, or with her eldest son-in-law, the Elector of Brandenburg.

The Prince William-Frederick of Nassau, Stadtholder of Friezeland and Groninghen, has great qualities, and is esteemed by all military men ; he is difficult, however, to be understood, as he is by turns reserved and open. His friends complain that he is sometimes warm, sometimes cold, and pays so much attention to the respective power of parties, that it is impossible that they can depend upon him with advantage in extensive affairs. He shews much affection for the young Prince of Orange ; but the mother of the latter doubts whether he is in earnest in this, as he in return cannot forget the bad treatment which (as he conceives) he suffered at the hands of Frederick-Henry. Yet they live together, he and the Princess, according to all appearance in friendship. His two stadtholderships bring him in little, and parties are often so strong, that he is obliged, in policy, to give way to their wishes, and cannot always carry his own views into effect. The Hollanders

alone can do any thing considerable for him, for which reason he endeavours to keep on a good footing with them. He is not competently instructed in the affairs of neighbouring nations. No one, on the other hand, doubts his bravery.

Monsieur de Witt, of Dordrecht, Pensionary of Holland, is one of the most considerable men in the State, partly on account of the preponderance which that province possesses over the others, partly owing to the consideration in which he is held among the ten or twelve men who govern Holland. In relation to his dignity and the importance of his office, he is young *, but he possesses great qualities for filling it in all respects—courage and firmness, (by which he never yields any thing through fear,) as also (to judge from experience up to this time) great disinterestedness. His influence rises or falls according to circumstances, as must necessarily be the case in a state compounded of so many parts. In fact, however, he takes the lead in all affairs without its being avowed that he does so. He has also many means at his disposal for guiding them at his pleasure.

Not reckoning his endeavours to exclude the House of Orange, and to forbid for ever the election of a perpetual Stadtholder, he cannot be reproached with

* Thirty years old at this time. [Tr.]

the having any end in view but the good of his country ; and although his means are but very moderate, it is not to be observed that he takes trouble to increase them. He never shews a preference for foreigners. He deals courteously with all ambassadors, and is more intent on discovering, by his acuteness, the designs of their masters, than on concealing those of his country.

Monsieur Beverning * has a quick, open, and bold spirit, and is devoted to the present government of Holland. He speaks freely and easily, appears less severe than De Witt, has no disinclination for France, but would condescend to nothing which could conduce to the detriment of his country.

The province of Holland is not unanimous in every thing ; for, as her trade is various, and apportioned among different towns, each of the latter associates itself to the nation with which she finds her best

* Jerome Bevernink, born in Holland, 1614. Distinguished for his share in the negociations for peace between Holland and England, in 1654, and in those for the general peace of Niméguen, in 1678. He then quitted public affairs, and remained in retirement, near Leyden, till his death, which took place in 1690. He was a great botanist and encourager of botany, having afforded Paul Herman the means of pursuing his researches in the East Indies, and has been eulogized by Linnæus as the introducer of some valuable exotics into Europe. [Tr.]

account. Haarlem, Leyden, and some towns of North Holland, which find the greatest issue for their manufactures in France, are inclined to us; Rotterdam divides herself between France and England; Amsterdam between France, Spain, and the North. Although these individual views have their respective weight in the States' Assembly, they are yet not powerful enough to allow us to draw any conclusion from them alone as to the turn which any affair, in which foreign countries are concerned, may take in the general assembly. As long as this republic exists in this unformed fashion, and without an head, the result in every transaction must be doubtful.

The chief principle of their foreign policy is to avoid war, in order to escape increasing their debts and being compelled to elect a supreme leader. They consider Spain so weakened, as to be out of condition to renew the war within the next one hundred years, and that if you were to join with them to the destruction of the House of Austria, the powers strengthened by that event would be doubly dangerous to them. Upon this last principle turn all their conclusions with relation to France. From that state the United Netherlands would have, as they think, much to fear and little to hope. Holland dreads specially, first, the re-establishment of an

universal Stadtholder ; secondly, the loss of her influence, in case the six other provinces should turn by preference to France ; thirdly, the indignation of France on account of the separate peace with Spain ; fourthly, the inclination of France to appropriate a share of her commerce and navigation ; fifthly, she considers France as generally restless and enterprising.

LETTER XXIII.

Francis I., his cheerfulness and captiousness.—The concordatum and its consequences.—The judicial system and sale of offices.—The election to the Empire.

You are aware that I, in consequence of my earlier researches, cannot place Francis I. so high as many historians have ranked him. Whether my views have been confirmed or impeached by my discoveries in the Paris MSS. you will be able to judge when I shall have laid before you my collection, as far as possible in chronological order.

In the first place the King's cheerfulness is made much account of, and that he understood jesting, and took it well. The following appertains to this subject.

About this time, 1514*, so Senhie relates in his diary of the reign of Francis I., there was in Paris

* Dupuy's MSS., Vol. 742, p. 5.

a priest named Cruche, a great talker, who with several others held public plays, farces, and moralities, on the place Maubert. In one of his moralities, for example, appeared gentlemen, who carried cloth of gold, a credo, or their lands upon their shoulders. In the farce, Cruche and his associates had a lanthorn, by means of which many strange things were seen (probably a sort of puppet-show). Among others, a salamander mounted upon a hen; which being interpreted, signified that the king, in whose scutcheon was a salamander, had an intrigue with the wife of an advocate, born à le Cocq. The King immediately engaged from eight to ten of his principal courtiers, who, under pretence of seeing these farces, lured the performer into an hostelry, stripped, and dreadfully beat him, and endeavoured to force him into a sack, with the intention of throwing him out of the window and then into the Seine. The wretched man screamed fearfully, and only escaped death by exhibiting his tonsure. And these things were done by the King's commission.

Francis should certainly have better taken a jest, or given less subject for it by his conduct. Public affairs, however, appear of more consequence. It is known that the King, after the battle of Marignon, reconciled himself with the Pope at the expense of the French church, and ostensibly for

the suppression of serious abuses, took to himself the filling of almost all ecclesiastical situations. Upon this matter Carrero, the Venetian ambassador in France, relates *:

It is said that the King, on the receipt of the Papal Bulls upon the Concordat, foresaw the evils which would arise from them, and turning to the chancellor, Duprat †, said—"This bull will lead you and me to the devil." And he has not deceived himself, for the Concordat was in fact a treaty with the

* Carrero Relatione. Colbert, 5320. Bibl. Roy. 10078. p. 20—25.

† Antoine Duprat, Chancellor of France, and prime minister for twenty years of the reign of Francis I. It was by his means that the great measure of the Concordat, mentioned in the text, was concluded with Leo X. This measure involved the abolition of the charter of the liberties of the Gallican Church, the so-called Pragmatic Sanction, first established by Louis IX., in 1268, and confirmed by Charles VII., in 1438. Its principal effect was to take from the church the election of bishops, and place it in the hands of the King, subject to the Pope's confirmation, and a payment of the first year's revenue to the latter. This was carried in the teeth of strenuous opposition from the clergy and parliament of France. Some of its immediate consequences are mentioned in the text. Duprat was afterwards Cardinal Legate, became an active and cruel persecutor of heresy, and retained his power till his death, in 1535.

devil, insomuch as the King began, like a kind and liberal companion, to give away bishoprics at the request of ladies, to assign abbeys as rewards for his soldiers, and finally to gratify all sorts of people, without respect to their qualities. So within a short space of time almost every situation in the church fell into the hands of persons who thought of nothing but their own advantage of the moment. All learned, well-instructed, capable persons, lost, on the contrary, all prospect of seeing their labours one day rewarded; and the new prelates made over the churches to people who undertook the spiritual profession simply to escape the labour of another calling. Their example, and the dissoluteness of their lives, threw the people into commotion, destroyed the ancient reverence for the ecclesiastical classes, and opened the door and gate to all heresies. The people were driven with blows to mass, obtained no instruction in any religion, turned to Atheism, and lived, we may say, worse than the cattle. Out of this present misery arose the greater despair, the French being people who see no further into futurity than the shadow of their foot.

They deal in such manner at the French Court with bishoprics and abbeys, as among us with pepper and cinnamon, and seldom is one bestowed that many do not share the profit. Nay, they distribute

such preferments even before they fall vacant, and in my time, a prelate had the greatest trouble to convince the purchasers that he was still in existence. All acknowledge the disorder; all cry out; and confess that every evil comes from this source; and yet,—

Another passage in Carrero's despatches on the administration of justice, the purchase of offices, &c. runs: "The law is administered generally either for favour or money. The former has reference, for the most part, to religion, and the other, the thirst for gold, arises from the circumstance that all judicial situations are matter of purchase, and every one wishes to derive as much interest as possible from the capital laid out. Formerly the King of France had the name of king of the beasts, to signify that he ruled his people as easily as an herd of cattle; the rebellions have now attained the highest pitch, and there is not a man who does not speak disrespectfully of his sovereign."*

* The remainder of this letter and the three following letters, are omitted for reasons stated in the Preface.

LETTER XXVII.

Upon the death of Maraviglia or Merveille.—Relations of Charles V. and Francis 1530 to 1535.—Claims of the latter on Milan.

You are aware, that the complaints which the French set up about the execution of their pretended ambassador Merveille or Maraviglia, affect in my judgement, the judicial proceedings of the Milanese authorities alone, and not the Emperor Charles V. I searched for confirmations or justifications of this view, and now communicate what I found on the subject in Paris and Besançon. The manuscript narration of an anonymous writer in the collection of Monsieur de Fontette contains the following *.

Some days since, the ecuyer Merveille passed through the town, accompanied by the Duke, and by his attendants. Among the latter was a fool or idiot, by name Baptiste. A gentleman who accompanied

* Bibl. Roy. Collection de Fontette. Cahier, II. No. 57.

the Duke, asked him, "to whom do you belong?" Baptiste answered, making signs with his hands, "to Merveille in France, in France." Upon which the gentleman said, "to the gallows with Merveille, to the gallows." An attendant of Merveille heard this, but held his peace, till the Duke had returned to his castle. Then, however, a quarrel arose. The gentleman denied the words, the lie was given him, he escaped, but one of his people was wounded in the arm. Merveille who was not present at the quarrel, but had remained in the castle with the Duke, caused the gentleman to be interrogated (upon learning what had passed) whether he had uttered the words imputed to him. He answered, "No." Giving credence, real or simulated, to this assertion, Merveille replied he was uncommonly troubled at what his people had done. In spite of this apology the gentleman went armed, and, strongly attended, past the house of Merveille, which led to new altercations between the servants. As soon as Merveille heard of this, he sent, in fear of greater mischief, to the chief criminal judge, and prayed him to look to the preservation of order; he did not wish that his people should revenge themselves. The judge, however, did not act, and the gentleman persevered in moving up and down before Merveille's house. Upon

this a third quarrel took place, the majority of the gentleman's followers fled, but he himself was slain by Merveille's people.

The next day, July 4th, came the captain of justice to Merveille's house, consigned all his property, and carried him with all his servants forthcoming to prison, without allowing any one to speak with him; and when they gave the captain a paper which had been drawn up in Merveille's justification, he tore it, and would hear nothing of it. Just as little was it possible to speak even once with the Duke in Merveille's favour during his imprisonment, so that he was found beheaded in the market-place on the morning of July 7. It is probable that they had already beheaded him in his prison. It is yet to be observed, that in Milan every one, capitally sentenced, of any condition soever, is allowed three days after his doom is pronounced, in order to justify himself; which, however, were never granted to Merveille.

So far the French written narrative, apparently of an eye-witness. There is no where any mention of the Emperor, nor is it even hinted that the Duke had the smallest participation in bringing on the hostilities. On the other hand, if there be any truth in the narration, the judicial authorities acted, beyond dis-

pute, contrary to justice, and the Duke falls at least under the reproach, of not having on his part prevented the execution of an unjust sentence.

The affair assumes a somewhat different shape according to the diplomatic correspondence extant in the collection of Cardinal Granvelle at Besançon. August 23, 1533, Charles V. writes to his ambassador at Paris *. The Duke of Milan maintains: he has caused Merveille to be executed, as his subject, on account of homicide. I shall institute fresh inquiries into this, and if there appear ground for complaint, enforce just satisfaction; but I pray the King of France not to disturb the general peace on account of this single event †. . On September 9, the Emperor repeats, that he neither was privy to the death of Merveille, nor to the fact that he was an envoy of France. Should the grounds of the action (letter of the 12th October) as stated by the Chancellor of Milan, not be satisfactory to the King, the latter might make application to him, the Emperor, as the Duke's feudal superior.

Although Merveille's death could not form the ground of immediate complaint against the Emperor, Francis I. availed himself of it as a pretext for war.

* Mem. de Granvelle, II. p. 93.

† P. 98 and 103.

Upon his real grounds, and his position with reference to Charles V., the collection of Granvelle gives more certain information. Out of it I select the following.

The instruction which Charles sent to his ambassador, Noircarnes, at Paris, as early as July 9, 1530, is addressed to the effect that the Treaty of Cambrai may be maintained in all its parts *. He adds, that he does not, in spite of the opposition of the princes and states, lose sight of religious affairs, and beseeches the King to apply his attention, that Paris and the other universities may not favour the King of England in the controversy upon his divorce. In later writings of the 6th and 18th of June, 1534, the Emperor declares, he wishes ardently for peace, and has nothing to gain by war, yet that his ambassador should so conduct himself as not to let it appear that his love of peace arises either out of mere fear or hate †.

The Emperor speaks out still more distinctly, in an instruction of August 12, 1535, to the Prince of Nassau at Paris ‡. King Francis, (he says,) has always looked to becoming Duke of Milan, and forcing Sforza to content himself with a pension. To this the Emperor cannot consent; for 1st. The arrange-

* Mem. de Granvelle, ii. 11.

† P. 117, 124.

‡ P. 149.

ment is incompatible with the treaties of peace of Madrid and Cambrai. 2d. The Pope and other sovereigns have declared themselves against it. 3d. It is not advisable with a view to the general good, that either France or Austria should possess that duchy. 4th. The King has no right to it either by birth or infeoffment, for the last was only assigned to Louis XII. with reference to the marriage of Charles V. with the deceased Queen of France, which never took place. 5th. The Duke of Sforza will take no pension nor defer his claims to any of the new pretenders.

Should the French return to the death of Merveille, the Emperor having procured an accurate report of that transaction, cannot resolve to give up the Duke his vassal. Should Francis I. be determined on war, the ambassador is empowered (as if the idea were his own) to offer the King an annual allowance of 60,000 crowns, and also to bring into discussion the marriage of the Duke of Angouleme with the English Princess Mary, as also that of the son and daughter of the King with the son and daughter of the Emperor.

In other later despatches of the Emperor to the Prince of Nassau *, his earnest love of peace is manifested, but Francis insisted on obtaining Milan in

* P. 162—170.

return for a pension to Sforza of from 20 to 25,000 dollars; or that the Emperor should cede to him presently Montserrat, Alexandria, and Genoa. September 4, 1534, the Emperor demonstrates the injustice of these demands on the part of the King, and how greatly he injures his reputation by his lust of acquisition, and his connection with Barbarossa; that he, the Emperor, was rather ready to unite his fleet with that of the King, in order to oppose the incursions of this barbarian. Of like tenor continues the correspondence in the winter of 1534 to 1535 *. The Emperor seeks to shew that the plans of the French on Italy must fail, and why, and wherefore he cannot cede to them the Milanese. Granvelle complains of the pretensions, importunity, and haughtiness of the French ambassadors †. At last, May 16, 1535, Francis declares himself willing to be content with half the revenues of Milan, which he computes at from 400 to 500,000 dollars ‡. Yet these must be assigned upon districts contiguous to his own frontier. The Emperor, on the other hand, repeats the simple offer of an annual payment of 50,000 dollars, and prays the King to take into consideration,

* 12th November, 1534, and January 5, p. 188, 221.

† April 18, 1535, p. 239.

‡ P. 250.

that he, out of love of peace, suffers his own claims on the Duchy of Burgundy to lie dormant.

So continued the negociations, till the death of Duke Sforza, on Oct. 24, 1535, and the Emperor's absence at Tunis, occasioned a change of circumstances, and finally, the third war between Charles and Francis.

I subjoin to the above two accounts, 1st, of Charles V.'s journey through France to Ghent; and 2dly, on the deaths of Rincon and Fregoso.

1st. Nov. 2, 1539.* Francis writes to his ambassador, Marillac, in London:—"The Emperor, my good brother, has informed me that he means to

* Charles de Marillac, reckoned the most able diplomatist of his time, born at Auvergne in 1510. He began his career at the bar; but at the age of twenty-two accompanied a relation, Jean de Laforet, in his embassy to Constantinople. He was himself soon afterwards appointed to succeed Laforet, and remained at Constantinople four years. On his return he was appointed to the embassy in London, where we find him in the text. He was afterwards employed in many important negotiations, and his services were rewarded with the Archbishoprick of Vienne. He died in 1560, leaving behind him some memoirs, and a great number of despatches, now in the Paris library, which are reckoned very superior to those of his contemporaries. He was intimate with l'Hopital, and the friend of Buchanan, and other learned men. [Tr.]

leave Burgos to-morrow, that he will visit me, and pass through my dominions to the Netherlands. This affair not merely redounds to my great honour, content, and satisfaction, but is, moreover, worthy of the good and perfect friendship which exists between him and me." On the 20th of the same month, the constable, Montmorency, tells the ambassador—"According to all the accounts which reach us, it is impossible that a prince can have better will and greater desire to see the King than has the Emperor."* In return, Vilandry writes, Dec. 7, to Marillac:—"No one can be more content than the Emperor with his honourable reception in France, which gives me good hopes for the future."

2dly. Upon the assassination of the envoys, Rincon and Fregoso, the French, 1541, raised as great complaint as for the death of Merveille. In the memoirs of Granvelle, at Besançon, there is a letter from the Emperor to the Pope on this subject, in which he says, he had instituted accurate enquiries into the transaction, and submits himself to the Pope's decision. The blame must fall upon the King of France;—first, because he had refused to listen to the Marquis of Guasto, who was still ready to

* Marillac Depesches, Bib. Roy. 8481. MSS. fol. 1.

† Granvelle's Mem. iii. 103.

deliver himself up into the Pope's hands :—secondly, because Rincon and Fregoso had privily associated themselves as enemies, to the injury of Christianity, with banished persons, and by the laws of the land had made themselves liable to capital punishment.

LETTER XXVIII.

Marino de Cavalli on Francis I.—The Dauphin.—The French Court.—The City of Paris.—The University and Military Establishment.

AMONG the MSS. of the royal and Colbert's library*, is a circumstantial report, furnished to his government by the Venetian ambassador, Marino de Cavalli, in 1547, upon King Francis I., his family, court, &c. I extract the following:—

Francis I. is in his fifty-fourth year, and of such an appearance, that any stranger, without having seen either him or his picture, would say, this is the King! In every motion of his body he shows so much dignity and firmness of demeanour, that no prince of the present day can equal him in such respects, far less surpass him. He has an excellent and vigorous constitution; it is difficult to believe

* Bibl. Roy. MSS. 10,078. Colbert, 5320, pp. 103. 111.

what labours, exertions, and excesses he has gone through. Nature has given him a means by which every year he discharges all his bad humours, so that if the remedy keep pace with the evil, he may yet live long *. He eats and drinks well, sleeps better than well, and what is of more consequence, will always live in the greatest mirth and comfort †. He thence loves to adorn himself with gold, embroidery, and jewels, and wears sumptuous garments, with fringes and ornaments, embroidered vests, the finest shirts drawn through the openings of the vests,—all things after the French fashion, and which contribute to a merry and long life.

He has, like all Kings of France, the property or gift of God, of curing the evil. Before exercising this function, at Christmas, Easter, and the Feast of Our Lady, he confesses and communicates, then makes the sign of the cross on the sick man's forehead, and says, "The King touches thee, God cure thee!" If the sick were not actually healed they certainly would not flock to him in such numbers, and at so much expense, out of all countries. God

* He died in the year in which this was written.

† *Mangia e beve benissimo, e dorme piu che benissimo, e quello che importa piu, vuole vivere in estrema allegrezza e consolazione.*

must certainly have imparted to the Kings of France this honourable and glorious privilege *.

Although the King has, while in health, a body which can and does bear every exertion, yet he will not allow himself to be sensible to the thoughts of the mind, because there is nothing so oppressive to him. He has, therefore, made over almost all business to the Cardinal Tournon† and the Admiral, and deals and answers as these two councillors please; nay, should an order or a decision, issued

* The English reader has little right to condemn the credulity of the scrofulous subjects of Francis or the Venetian who records and shares it. Queen Anne, to use the expression of the continuator of Rapin, was, to prove her descent, put upon touching for the evil. The applicants were examined by the court surgeon, and thirty reported fit subjects. These were touched privately; the result does not appear. [Tr.]

† François de Tournon, much employed by Francis I. in the most important negociations of his reign, and chief minister during the latter years of that sovereign, after the disgrace of the constable Montmorency. Deprived of this undivided power by the death of Francis, he was yet much employed in various public affairs under three succeeding sovereigns. He was a patron of letters, but a great enemy and persecutor of the Protestants, in spite of which, his talents and merit are highly praised by De Thou. He died in 1562, at the age of seventy-three years, thirty-nine of which had been passed in the active conduct of public affairs. [Tr.]

without previous discussion with these two, displease them, it is forthwith altered or rescinded. He even lays before them alone, in secret, the weightiest affairs, of peace and war, for example, and no one at the court dares gainsay them.

The King's powers of judgement are very admirable, his knowledge very extensive, as is shewn when he is heard to speak of all matters, and to judge of them in the readiest manner as well as the wisest. He speaks not only of war in general, but in detail, of raising, arming and leading troops, of encampments, attacks, battles, defences ; then of navigation, hunting, painting, sciences of all kinds, chivalry, court manners, &c. Inasmuch, however, as he has had little success in war, some say he is wiser in his mouth than his mind. In truth, however, all the mishaps which have befallen his majesty, have, in my judgement, occurred by carelessness in the execution, and because he would not undertake the trouble of them, or take part in their actual conduct. Thus we may attribute to him a lack of care and mental exertion, but not of knowledge and experience.

He pardons easily, and gives very willingly, yet the necessities of the time have somewhat cramped his liberality. He spends yearly on himself and his court about 300,000 scudi, of which the Queen re-

ceives as much as 90,000. Brittainy and Dauphigny are assigned to the Dauphin, which bring in annually about 300,000 scudi, out of which he maintains his own and his wife's court, and 150 lances. For his buildings the King requires 200,000 scudi; and there are already eight sumptuous palaces finished, and others in progress. If this sum were not sufficient, other considerable revenues would be assigned for the purpose. Chasseurs, hounds, hunting horses, falcons, &c., cost yearly above 150,000 scudi. The purchase of rarities of many sorts at least 50,000 yearly. Feasts, masquerades, sports, &c., 50,000. The wardrobe and small presents as much more. Women not less than 300,000. So that, according to universal opinion, the King spends not less on himself and family than half a million of dollars. I believe, moreover, that, inasmuch as there is no order in this expenditure, and that every thing is paid double its value, the real outgoings far exceed these sums.

Out of five children of the King, Magdalen and the Dauphin Henry alone survive. The first is distinguished for cleverness, discretion, affability, and many accomplishments, (she understands Latin, Greek, and Italian). Beyond every thing, however, the Dauphin excites by his virtues immeasurable expectation, that he will be the most admirable king

the country has had for these two centuries past. This hope allays the dissatisfaction of the people upon the existing evils. The Dauphin has a strong, well-exercised body, and a somewhat melancholy temperament. He is no great speaker, yet listens to what is spoken, and answers so much the more decidedly, inasmuch as he adheres very determinedly to his views. Although of moderate endowments, and rather slow than quick, it is thought of him, that, like many good fruits, he will only ripen somewhat the later. He looks to getting a fast footing in Italy, and opposed the cession of Piemont. Not much addicted to women, he contents himself with his wife and the Grande Marechale of Normandy, a woman of forty-eight years. From this age, some argue that the great love which exists between them is either Platonic or, on her part, maternal. She has also sought to instruct, improve, and enliven him, so that he is become, out of a mere jester, quite another man, and conducts himself better with his wife than formerly.

To these observations of Marino, partly acute, partly short-sighted and contradicting one another, I append some others upon the city of Paris, the university, and the military establishment.

The Parisians, he says, had formerly many immunities. Since, however, they neither knew how

to use them nor to control themselves, they were guilty of such misbehaviour and disobedience, in the time of King John, that they all at once forfeited their privileges, and none remain to them except the practice of a little resistance when money is required of them. They pay, however, in the end, if it be against their will.

The University may number some 12,000 or 16,000 scholars, of whom, however, many live in poverty. The emoluments of the teachers are very small, their duties very extensive; yet they crowd to Paris, because the honour of having taught there, makes up for the deficiency of the profit. The professors of the Sorbonne have the unlimited right of chastising heretics, and cause them to be burnt alive little by little, (*poco a poco*.)

The causes of the disorders and disgraces of the military profession have been the captains, who undertook to raise more men than they had the means of doing. They therefore admitted the lowest rabble, and often cheated the soldiers of their pay and perquisites; by which the latter held themselves licensed to plunder, to do mischief of all kinds, or to desert.

LETTER XXIX.

Henry II.—Finances.—Religious Persecutions.—Paul IV. and his Nephews.—Carrero and Catherine of Medici.

THE hopes expressed by the Venetian, Marino, with respect to Henry II., were not fulfilled; and another historical writer says more justly*: He is uninstructed, and arrives a novice at so great a sovereignty; for under his father he had no share in public affairs. Just as little does he shew himself economical as was expected of him, and a good manager. Much rather do the authentic reports extant demonstrate, that, under his and the next succeeding governments an incredible and immeasurable number of senseless and scandalous taxes, and issues of money in presents, took place, and that the finances generally were shamefully administered†.

* Petri Paschalii historiarum fragmenta. Dupuy MSS. 624.

† Colbert, 8627. Bibl. Roy. 2114.

Equally reprehensible were the intolerant ecclesiastical, and the rapacious lay judicial systems. With reference to the former, the Papal Nuncio, Prospero, made representation to the King, June 19, 1551 *: Your Majesty must, for the advantage and support of religion, forbid the printing and circulation of all heretical books, which declaim against the papal chair, the ancient usages of the church, the miracles of Christendom, &c., &c., under the false pretence of lowering the papal and exalting the royal dignity. If your Majesty fail to make timely opposition to all this, and to punish these damnable writers, the evil may proceed so far as to defy remedy, as was the case with the Emperor and Martin Luther.

In comparison with what soon after took place in France against the Reformers, these propositions of the Nuncio are to be called in the highest degree moderate. Since, however, the manuscripts throw no further light upon this matter, I turn to the reports of the Venetian ambassador at Rome, the Archbishop of Vienne, upon Pope Paul IV., his court, &c., in the years 1556 and 57 †. The Pope, he states, fears the Spaniards, and is much addicted to the French, but many causes restrain his good disposition. In

* *Memoires de Granvelle*, iv.

† *Collect. de Fontette*. Portef. 3. No. 29.

the first place, his ministers, and especially his nephews, keep him in tutelage, and declare openly that access is only to be obtained to him through their intercession, and that letters or other writings can only reach him through their hands. There are no regulations which they cannot frustrate by their counter regulations. Thus have these nephews prevented the investiture of the Duke of Orleans with Naples, and have put into the Pope's head that he would affront thereby King Philip II. beyond hope of reconciliation. The Pope generally embraces public affairs in the whole, like a philosopher, not in detail, like a man of practice, and leaves their conduct to those nephews. They promise from one day to another, let people wait long for audiences, give double meaning replies, affirm and retract, and when at length all these devices are exhausted, resort to such hot language, and fall into such rages, as is hardly to be endured.

The Pope is too old: he listens willingly to all reports, is prone to believe them, becomes thereby weak in his determinations, alters, interprets what has been said and promised at his pleasure, finds reasons for all his own notions, and will finally decide every thing according to his own view. He then pays no regard to any counter representations, and becomes so obstinate, that nothing is to be

gained over him. So is there nothing to be hoped for from the Caraffas, partly on account of their indecision, partly on account of their caprice, and partly from their inability. It therefore seems advisable to treat them with courtesy, but to pay them in their own coin; that is, to accept from them every thing which can serve our own interest.

The King of France observed, however, in nothing, this selfish advice, but allowed himself to be involved, greatly through the Pope, in a war with the Emperor and Philip II., which was conducted with bad success, and terminated only in the disadvantageous peace of Cateau Cambresis in 1559. A few months later, in July, 1559, Henry II. died; and, in the next year, with the conspiracy of Amboise, began those civil wars which for thirty years so terribly distracted France*. Catherine of Medicis and her sons are, in one sense, sufficiently known in history, and judged by it. Any new information respecting her in another sense must be welcome. I extract,

* Upon the time of Francis I., there are in the Royal Library, No. 8674—8676, rich collections, which afford materials for the more accurate history of France, but do not admit of selection here. They are of the Guises, Chastillon, Catherine of Medicis, Francis II., Maximilian II., Aubespine, Henry de Rohan, Renè of Savoy, Egmont, Philip II., &c.

therefore, the following, from a report of the Venetian ambassador, Carrero *.

The queen mother, Catherine of Medicis, is in her fifty-first year, yet bears no visible marks of age or weakness ; she is, on the contrary, very lively, of strong bodily constitution, and so strong on her feet that it is difficult to keep up with her. This great movement creates hunger, which occasions her Majesty to eat not a little, and all kinds of things confusedly. Thence, as the physicians believe, arise severe sicknesses, which bring her to the verge of the grave. In accordance with the genius of her ancestors, the Queen would fain leave a recollection of herself to posterity in buildings, libraries, collections of art, &c., yet she has been obliged to lay all these things aside and employ herself with others. She is an affable, agreeable princess, courteous to all, and studies to satisfy every body, at least with words, which she lavishes with singular liberality.

In business she is so admirably diligent, that not even the smallest affair takes place, or is treated of, without her intervention. She scarcely eats or drinks, nay, scarcely sleeps, without having some storm of business assail her ears. Thus she does in

* Carrero Relatione de 1569 et 1570. Colbert, 5320. Bibl. Roy. 10378. p. 42. 49.

peace and war what is the duty of men to do, but is nevertheless not loved in the kingdom. The Huguenots, namely, thus complain: Catherine amused us with fair words and deceitful shew of friendship, while she was, in fact, in an understanding with Philip II., and was forging intrigues for our destruction. The Catholics, on the other hand, maintain: if the Queen had not favoured the Reformers, and exalted them, they could never have achieved what they have.—It is, moreover, now a time in France, when every one arrogates to himself what he pleases and boldly demands it; but, in case of refusal, cries out, and thrusts the blame on the Queen. Many also think that, even if she, as a stranger, give them all they ask, she yet gives nothing of her own. Every resolution which misbefell, in peace or war, would be laid to her, as reigning uncontrolled without council or associate. I say not that the Queen is a sybil, who cannot err, or who has never trusted too much to herself, but I ask what prince, how wise and experienced soever, would not be put out of his way, in case he should find himself suddenly involved in a war, in which none could distinguish friend from foe, and no aid was to be discovered all around except from persons engaged in party and seldom trustworthy? If the wisest of princes might well, in such complicated circum-

stances, have committed an error, I cannot but be surprised that a timid woman, a foreigner, without confidential friends, almost excluded from the truth, and not even standing at the head of the government, should not have altogether lost her head, and given over the realm to ruin. She alone has sustained the little majesty of the crown which remains, and I am more inclined to sympathize with her than to blame. As I was once speaking with her in this sense, she herself laid before me in detail the difficulties of her position. I also know that she, more than once, has retired to her chamber to weep, there, however, did herself violence, dried her tears, and let herself be seen in public places with a cheerful countenance, because people drew their conclusions from it as to the condition of public affairs. She has also insensibly so set to rights the understandings of Frenchmen, that they no longer speak of her retirement, but rather all fear and wish to please her. Should certain disturbances cease which have made her dependent on the help of many persons, she would reign, like a natural sovereign, with uncontrolled power in this country. In any case, her position will continue the same for many years as is required by the disposition of the King; which is also so acknowledged that men call her King, and all eyes are fixed upon her, she having the power of con-

tenting or injuring any one with her simple yes or no.

It is well known that Catherine believed in astrology. In the Royal Library is a report of the astrologer Symeoni, in which he advises the Queen that her son (Francis II., or Charles IX.) must be crowned towards noon of June 17, and why *. He concludes his mysterious exposition with these words: "Although some earthly minded persons scoff at heavenly things, events within two years shall turn their incredulity to shame." That he meant by this to predict religious disturbances required no great gift of divination.

* Bibl. Roy. MSS. No. 8676. p. 16.

LETTER XXX.

Carrero on Charles IX.—Henry of Anjou.—Francis of Alençon and Margaret of Valois.—An anonymous writer on Charles IX.—Renata of Ferrara.—The Abbess of Jovarre.

I FOLLOW up Carrero's reports on Catherine of Medicis with his character of Charles IX.* The King is between nineteen and twenty years of age, tall, but with legs weak, and ill-proportioned to his body. He stoops somewhat, and appears, to judge by his pale countenance, of unsound health; yet he labours willingly, rides much, and is much attached to the chase, especially that of the stag. His Majesty is not, it is true, very much inclined to business; listens, however, with patience, and remains three and four hours in council. The decisions, however, he leaves entirely to his mother, so that never son shewed more respect and obedience. It is true that

* Colbert, 5320. Bibl. Roy. 10378.

this excessive reverence may be interpreted for fear, —a construction which increases the reputation of his mother in proportion as it diminishes his own. In other respects he shews himself courteous, affable to every one, and must be, in my judgement, very easy to gain over or to persuade.

The Duke Henry of Anjou is somewhat taller than the King, and has also a defect in the legs, but is of better and less pale complexion. He suffers much from a fistula in the eye, for which he was recommended to drink water, and altogether unaccustomed himself to wine. He contents himself with a more domestic mode of hunting, and is addicted to the ladies. He loves command, and his dignity would, perhaps, be too great if he were not so united with the King and so well disposed. In the field he bears all inconveniences with patience, fears no danger, and listens willingly to advice; it is to be hoped that, with time and experience, his judgement may gain strength. He is, moreover, courteous, beloved, and much respected.

The third brother, Duke Francis of Alençon, shews, although only in his fifteenth year, much intelligence, and awakens no small hopes. The Princess Margaret possesses such rare qualities, that the King of Portugal, to whom she is betrothed, will be well off with her as his wife.

Instead of now pointing out from other sources how far the views of Carrero were correct or mistaken, I communicate from an hitherto unknown description of the life of Charles IX., the following*.

He was liberal to every one, and was often heard to say, "a king must be ready in giving, for nations are like rivers, which pour down their waters continually to the ocean, that is, the Treasury." His bodily exercises consisted in jumping, tennis, breaking or shoeing horses, or in driving them, which he understood well, even with four-in-hand. Besides these, he forged weapons, cast cannons, fished and hunted. He was especially, from his childhood, addicted to the chase, even to phrensy. Day and night he wandered about the forests, careless of food or rest, as long as he could indulge this passion. Upon the paraphernalia of the chase, the resort and haunts of the game, and the manner of taking every sort, he has written a book. This daily pursuit of beasts made him cruel towards them, but not towards men †. He killed horses with his own

* Dupuy's MSS., Vol. 86. p. 91, anonymous.

† *Hæc quotidiana belluarum insectatio sanguineum eum reddebat in feras non in homines.* M. Raumer has considered this passage so much at variance with history, that he has altered the sense in his translation, by supposing that the word

hand, and if he met with asses he frequently struck off their heads, and paid their value to the owners. He killed swine in the presence of his courtiers, and dabbled with bloody hands in their entrails, like a common butcher's man. As he, on one occasion, fell in this fashion upon a mule of Lausac's, who was a favourite of the courtiers, Lausac cried out, "whence has this feud arisen between my mule and the most Christian King?"

Of all arts he practised music by preference, cultivated singers, in particular an eunuch, surnamed *Le Roi*, and sung himself, with a strong and melodious voice, in the choir. He also gave to musicians considerable ecclesiastical situations.

Marie Touchet, the beautiful daughter of an apothecary in Orleans, was much beloved by him, and

non had been falsely inserted. I venture, with much deference, to doubt whether the passage should not be considered as correctly given. The behaviour of Charles IX., in the affair of St. Bartholomew, has been recorded to his infamy; but it must be remembered that he was young, and the puppet of others, and it is also recorded of him, that he looked back with horror and repentance to his conduct on that occasion. Such feelings could hardly have been the work of such spiritual advisers as he was likely to have about him, and may be fairly presumed to have been the natural workings of a nature not originally cruel. [Tr.]

bore him two sons. When a picture was shewn her of the new Queen of France, Elizabeth, (daughter of Maximilian II.,) she is said to have laughed, and to have said, "Germany does not alarm me." She certainly visited the King during a tedious illness, and it is conjectured that the malady was increased and death hastened in consequence*.

It is doubtful whether King Charles, or the Calvinists, have done most injury to the church; for if the latter killed a few priests and robbed churches, Charles coined the sacred vessels into money, gave the preferments of the churches to his soldiers, to children and women, and sold church property to the amount of two millions.

When a child, he studied grammar, and occupied himself with the sciences, but as soon as he was King, he laid aside these pursuits as unworthy of a sovereign; for, in the judgement of the courtiers, it is praiseworthy to be ignorant. Yet he loved poetry, and himself composed poems in the French tongue. Among the authors of Latin poetry he was partial to Dorat, among those of French, to Ronsard and Baif. When they read their poems to him he listened with great attention, and gave them presents,

* M. Raumer considers it doubtful to which of the parties the words refer. [Tr.]

but not large ones, in order that from want of money they might return soon, and bring something new. The poets, he said, are like good horses, which we must feed but not fatten.

He ate little, and for his health's sake drank only water, or hypocras, made of water, sugar, and cinnamon. He slept very little, and before midnight was generally on horseback, putting the hounds in motion, or about something. His sickness was increased by the fear of the machinations of his brother Francis and his nephew Henry, as well as by the suspicion that he was wasting away by slow poison, or magical contrivances. On this ground two Italian soothsayers, Momus and Kosmus, were cast into prison*.

Charles was tall, but stooped much. His complexion was pale, or the colour of box-wood, an hook nose, wry neck, thin limbs. He was of over hasty disposition, impatient, wrathful, fierce, but not cruel; a good memory, a master of dissimulation when he chose, voluptuous, but not to excess; eloquent, and of sharp judgement. Perjury seemed to him nothing but a figure of speech, and no crime; he therefore violated his faith as often as it seemed to his profit to do so.

* Probably La Mole and Como, or Comæ Ruggieri.

These general sketches of the personal features of Charles IX. find confirmation not only in the history of the state, but in individual anecdotes. One, out of many, for a proof. One day, says an anonymous reporter, Charles went with his brother Henry to the Quai des Augustins, to whip Mademoiselle De Nautouillet. Before them, however, had arrived already the Baron of Viteaux, with Catherine, (the Queen,) who, fearing that they were come to look for him, shut himself up in a room, and bolted the door. The King tried in vain to force it, thinking Mademoiselle De Nautouillet was there: had he succeeded, Viteaux was a dead man*.

* This is the probable but not the grammatical interpretation. Et s'il eut forcé il était mort. [Tr.]

LETTER XXXI.

Philip II. upon the French wars of religion.—Marriage of Henry of Navarre with Margaret of Valois.—Dealings with the Pope.—The Massacre of Paris.—Schomberg's embassy to Germany.—Hospital's last letter.—Alençon's plans.

THE misery which arose out of the wars of religion in France appeared so enormous, that a general reconciliation was seriously spoken of. Philip II. alone wished for the continuance of the differences. Upon which, Fourquevaulx writes from Madrid, Jan. 5, 1571, to Charles IX.*:—The King of Spain prays you most instantly, to listen to no man who speaks of reconciliation with the rebels; for, on the grounds already so often exposed, and always subsisting the same, every peace must be pernicious to your reputation, dangerous to your person, and your

* MSS. St. Germain, Vol. 790. As early as 1562 Philip II. gave the King of France some money, but wished for the continuance of the troubles, according to St. Sulpice. Oct. 8, 1562. Bibl. Roy. No. 9746.

crown, as well as highly destructive to the interests of all other sovereigns.

In the marriage of Henry of Navarre with Margaret of Valois, many thought they had discovered a way out of these mischiefs; but the Catholic zealots partly, and partly the Huguenots, started so many difficulties, that it was necessary to gain over, *pari passu*, the Pope and Joan of Navarre. With reference to this, Charles IX. writes, Oct. 5, 1571, to his ambassador at Rome, Ferrails * :—The Queen of Navarre has several times besought me to do her son the honour of marrying him to my sister, by which the promise would be fulfilled which my father had given to the deceased King of Navarre. Before I gave her any hopes on the subject, I consulted the most eminent and faithful of my servants, who agreed with me that, in the present condition of my kingdom, the marriage in question was the best means of ending all troubles, of freeing the Prince Henry from the hands of those who have made themselves masters of him, of binding him to myself, and finally leading him back into the bosom of the holy church. I have found mother and son very flexible, and disposed towards my views and counsels which I gave them for their salvation and repose;

* Dupuy's MSS., Vol. 523.

so that it now comes to advancing further in this matter, and gaining over the Pope to it. Entirely in the same sense runs a letter of the Queen Catherine, of the same day's date; both, however, were recalled, and new ones prepared, obstacles being, on one hand, interposed by the adversaries of the plan, on the other, the Queen's consent being rather held out in prospect than really bestowed.

As she (the manuscript proceeds) would not consent to the marriage, they went so far as to threaten her they would, on account of the marriage which had once been contracted between her and Duke William of Cleves, declare her son illegitimate. At last she yielded, but said that she apprehended nothing but ill fortune from this marriage. As Joan, however, made new proposals on the subject of the marriage, I required her (proceeds Charles IX.) to come to me to acquaint herself with my views; yet no further progress has since been made, and nothing will be concluded without acquainting the Pope.—The latter, however, raised so many difficulties, that the affair did not advance, and Charles at last sent Mons. de Chavigny to Rome, to set all to rights*.

* Joan had been promised to Duke William of Cleves, *per verba de presenti*, but the marriage had been cancelled by a bull of Pope Paul IV. Teschenmacher Annal. Cleve.

Pope Gregory XIII., who in the mean time, May 13, 1572, had ascended the papal chair, demanded, at last, as the price of his dispensation, the following conditions :—

1st. The King of Navarre shall, in secret, make an orthodox profession of faith.

2dly. In his own person, or through others, he shall beg for the dispensation.

3dly. He shall restore all the Catholic clergy in his dominions to their possessions and dignities.

4thly. He shall grant the Catholics free exercise of their religion.

5thly. He shall marry Margaret in the church, without suppression or alteration of the ceremonies.

In his answer Charles IX. pointed out, that in any case all these conditions were not to be obtained, and allowed the marriage to take place, on August 18, 1572, before any full understanding with the Pope had been attained.

The letter is remarkable which Charles IX., on the 24th August, the day of the massacre, despatched to the ambassador at Rome, Ferrails. After several insignificant passages, it runs * :—I have gathered from your despatches of July 29 and August 2, that his holiness is firmly determined to extend his permis-

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 323

sion for the marriage of the King and Queen of Navarre, only on the conditions previously laid down, and that Chavigny is hardly in condition to procure a better and more favourable answer. On this account, and considering how greatly the peace and welfare of my dominions depend upon that marriage, I, in pursuance of good counsel, determined to let it be concluded last Monday. All my subjects have exhibited the greatest joy and contentment, as I cause to be represented to his Holiness, through your nephew Monsieur de Branville. You have, therefore, speedily, and before his Holiness learns the grounds of the journey of Monsieur de Branville, to demand an audience, to make your representation, to express what the good of my service requires, and especially to imbue his Holiness with the knowledge of my straight forward and upright views. At the close of your last despatch, you tell me that his Holiness is willing to give my cousin, the Cardinal of Ferrara, an explanation upon the subject of the benefices vacant in Rome. Meanwhile (*au demeurant*) I will inform you that, last Friday, as the admiral was going to his house from the Louvre, a gentleman or soldier, hitherto undiscovered, shot at him from a window and wounded him in the arm, and this last night, it has fallen out that the members of the house of Guise, with many lords and gentlemen, (upon

certain information, that the friends of the admiral considered them as the authors of the assault, and intended to revenge it,) have put themselves in motion. Out of this a great rising has taken place, the guard at the admiral's lodging was put to the rout, and he himself with many of his party and religion was slain. In different other parts of the town also people have been massacred, as Monsieur de Branville will further inform you ; and thus I hope, then, that the Holy Father will no longer, on the grounds set forth by your nephew, make any further difficulties, to impart to me the dispensation which is all I have now to write upon to you.

However inured we may be to the depravity of these times, we can scarcely recover ourselves from the astonishment, nay horror, which we feel on finding the King, on the day of the most bloody execution, ordered by himself, should begin a long dissertation with insignificant trifles, should drag in between the important questions as to the marriage, a paltry dealing of the Cardinal of Ferrara, and at last with ice cold indifference, and a paltry *au dementant*, comes to the horrors of the day, and with unblushing front lies through the narration of it.

In like manner Charles X. writes to the Governor

of Normandy, Monsieur de Matignon, August 28 *. I have received information that, under pretence of the death of Coligny and his adherents and fellow criminals, some gentlemen and others may perhaps gather together, and undertake something against the peace and security of the realm, which I have always endeavoured to secure. As, moreover, that death will be misrepresented, and it will be stated, that it all hangs together otherwise than is by us pretended, I have sent the enclosed explanation, which you are to make known, and therewith give assurance that it has always been my intention to abide by the edict of pacification.

All congregations, preachings, public worship of the Huguenots, are in the mean time forbidden! Every one must retire to his residence and live quietly, (*doucement*), as is permitted under the indulgence of my edict, and by which they will secure my defence and protection. Should they, however, refuse to follow these instructions and counsels, *then, let loose upon them, and cut them in pieces as enemies of my crown.* Charles further cancels all commands which he may have given by word of mouth, and maintains that the admiral had organised

* Bib. Roy. MSS. No. 8763, p. 28.

a conspiracy against him, and thus had given great cause for vengeance and punishment.

That the last assertion was a lie is well known ; with respect to the verbal orders alluded to, further information is to be gained from the account of a well-informed but anonymous eye-witness *. It runs thus :—

On the day of St. Bartholomew, the King sent Monsieur de Molle to Provence, with a letter to the Count de Tende, according to which he was to slaughter all Huguenots. In a postscript Charles added ; the Count was to believe and do nothing of what Monsieur de Molle should say to him. The Count despatched forthwith his secretary the Count Bautry to Paris, to enquire the real pleasure of the King, and received a command immediately on his messenger's return, to kill all Huguenots. Tende, however, died, while occupied, really or in appearance only, with preparations, and his successor, the Count de Courcis, would not order the slaughter, since he had no order to the effect personally addressed to himself. This occasioned another mission of Monsieur de Molle ; Courcis, however, not receiving for three weeks further accounts, either from him or from the King, despatched Monsieur de Vacluse,

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 661.

who travelled with such extraordinary speed that he reached Paris on the very day on which Molle quitted that city, with a renewed order from the King for the massacre of the Huguenots. Vacluse, who would not return without having executed his commission, but insisted on speaking with the King, obtained from him, however, at his first audience, no other answer, than that he had already given his orders to Molle. He, nevertheless, remained at Paris, and declared that he still waited for express and extraordinary instructions. The King embarrassed by this, caused him to come to him in secret, and told him, on peril of his life, to communicate to no other than Courcis his present order, which was, not to institute the massacre, as he had another enterprize upon his hands which might perhaps be frustrated by a catastrophe in Provence. Vacluse hereupon travelled in such haste to Provence, that he reached it before Molle, and prevented the atrocity.

In what the enterprise adverted to consisted, is not precisely unfolded, but that which is imparted shews how weak and vacillating and hypocritical was the conduct of the King, and how he wanted courage to pronounce himself openly for the better course. Nay, when Schomberg, six months later, in February 1573, was despatched to the German princes, the instruction given him was as follows. The King

has learnt that through false reports and libels, it has been attempted to represent his dealings in an hateful point of view, even to the Protestant princes of Germany*, but as to his own knowledge he had never omitted any thing by which he could serve the said princes, he therefore despatches Schomberg to inform them of his good dispositions, to contradict calumnies, &c. Schomberg was further to tell the story of St. Bartholomew's night, and how no part of the occurrences had happened through religious animosity. No one (it proceeds) will be forced in his conscience, and if, exclusive of the leaders, individual Huguenots have, in consequence of the execution done upon the admiral, suffered some damage, (*quelque dommage,*) this has only occurred through the hate and aversion which the people, on account of the injuries they have suffered in the late troubles, still entertain against the Huguenots, &c. As to Rochelle, the King is seeking to recover it by every gracious admonition.

One is almost rejoiced to discover no more fresh,

* Instructions pour les ambassadeurs en Allemagne et en Suisse de 1567—1617, Brienne MSS. No. 292. There are similar ones in Bougars for 1593—1599, in Dupuy, Vol. 43, and the object always is to gain over the German princes. Dupuy, Vol. 288, 289, contain instructions for the embassies in Rome, Spain, England, and other European countries.

but ever-lamentable elucidations of this untoward period. As a rare and consolatory page we may cite a letter addressed by the noble Chancellor Hospital, January 12, 1573, before his death, to the King *. After giving a true assurance of his firm love, truth, and impartiality, and recommending his affairs to the King, he proceeds : Sire, I pray God to lead you by the hand in all affairs, and that you may govern the great and fair kingdom, which he has committed to you, in all mildness and humanity towards your subjects, imitating him in that he is kind, long suffering of our offences, and remits and pardons our sins.

As Charles IX. was visibly approaching his end, his brother the Duke of Alençon formed a scheme for usurping the throne to the exclusion of the King of Poland. He managed (says a manuscript of the time) his affair with such dexterity and success, that he had gained over all the ministers and great persons (with the exception of the Queen mother, the Guises, some of the Parliaments and governors of provinces) †. In order to obtain information of all Alençon's designs, and spy all his movements, the Queen mother put about him a Florentine Cosmo Regissi ‡, under the pretext of teaching him Italian.

* Baluze MSS. Vol. 509. Fontette Collect. Cassette iv. No. 54.

† Dupuy MSS. anonyme, Vol. 661.

‡ Ruggieri.

Cosmo, however, following the apparent good fortune of Alençon, attached himself to his party, and gave the Queen no information but such as his new master permitted him to give. One day, the four heads of the party, Alençon, La Mole, Montmorency, and Cosmo were together, consulting upon their further measures, when La Mole began an ill-timed dispute with Montmorency, upon their future rank and precedence. Montmorency answered at first with great courtesy, but was afterwards so impatient that he quitted the place, by which so much time was lost, that the other party anticipated their schemes, and were enabled by degrees to arrest the conspirators; nay, La Mole was forthwith executed in consequence.

LETTER XXXII.

Pope Sixtus V.—His severity.—His treasure.—Affairs with Henry III.—The Ligue, Spain.

AT the time when Henry III. and the Guises were at war, secret or open, all parties sought the support of Sixtus V. The Cardinal Joyeuse, who at that time negociated for the King at Rome, has left some reports upon that formidable head of the Church, from which I extract the following*.

Sept. 7, 1587, he writes to the King: I have had an audience of the Pope, who spoke long and much, with ease and warmth. He laments the wretched condition of France, and maintains that what your Majesty wants resolves itself into two things, money and severity. With respect to the latter, he held me a long discourse, how important it was that a prince should be feared and respected, as well by his subjects as by foreign powers, and should never allow

* Dupuy MSS., Vol. 374. Despatches of 1587 and 1588.

himself to be braved by any man, far or near. I myself, he added, found, on my elevation to the papal chair, the papal power much degraded in Rome and Italy, but I raised it again. At that time, the princes of Italy were by no means on good terms with one another, and entertained still less reverence for the vicegerent of Christ; the most distinguished families and first houses of Rome lived in open feud, and were united in one point alone, namely, to give themselves no trouble as to what the Pope would say or do. The entire states of the Church were filled with exiles and criminals. In a short time, however, I brought things to a pass that the greatest were compelled to bow to my yoke, and the robbers and other rabble were dispersed or rooted out.

In respect of the second point, the acquisition of a treasure, the Pope pointed out, in a similar discourse, how important it was for a prince to be always well provided with money. He then digressed to himself, and said, "The Pope, in comparison with the King of France, must seem like a fly to an elephant; yet I have, in a short space of time, collected much money, and shall soon lay by a good deal more." The conclusion of all his observations was, that we must, like himself, make ourselves feared, and accumulate much money.

In the same report Joyeuse remarks: Many of the cardinals receive pensions from France. If, however, we do not proceed, with the help of a strong provision, as we have begun, those, hitherto our pensioners, will turn into our mortal foes. We shall lose all respect among the others, and no one will any longer range himself on our side, however big may be their promises.

In this position, Henry III. prayed the Pope to give or lend him money *. Sixtus answered, I will rather give than lend to the King; under the condition, however, that he carry on the war in earnest, and that we may perceive some signal advance in his measures. When the ambassador observed, that his master would not apply to him unless compelled by necessity, Sixtus interrupted him, and said: "Necessity! Why then has the King fallen into this necessity? Why has he not laid by money for such chances? Nothing has befallen him which he should not have foreseen. *A prince without money is nothing.* The last words he spoke with warmth, and as if in anger. As Joyeuse hereupon would fain have excused the King, and began; "that the Pope was not well informed of the affairs of France," Sixtus interrupted him so that he could not proceed,

* Despatch of Nov. 1, 1587.

and said, "he was very well informed of them, and knew well what he was talking of." And while he spoke these words, Joyeuse proceeds, he set both his hands to his sides, and looked into my very eyes in a terrific fashion. Yet the discussion commenced afresh and Sixtus was more temperate.

I besought his Holiness, says Joyeuse, to tell me upon his conscience whether he, with reference to all that had happened, could advise your Majesty to place all your power in the hands of others? The Pope, on this question, became suddenly another man, told me I was right, and that he could never with a good conscience give such advice. Nevertheless, this mistrust will bring down the destruction of the kingdom; there never will (as he always maintained) any thing satisfactory happen, either in peace or war, nor in any other important respect. From this the Pope fell upon the deceased Pope Gregory XII. and the Cardinals of Como and Sens, and said they were prime raisers of the last troubles in France, especially the Cardinal of Sens, who deserved to be hanged. After repeating these words two or three times, he added, "The Cardinal of Como did this to serve the King of Spain, whose dependant he was all his life; the Cardinal of Sens, on the other hand, out of mere depravity, because evil was a pleasure to him, and it was out of his nature to do good.

Those who made insurrection in France were wrong, for no cause, no pretext, can justify the taking up arms without permission of the Sovereign. They will have no good fortune ; God will punish them for the evil of which they are guilty, and specially for this, that, on account of the well-founded apprehensions of the King, the heretics are not driven out of the country. More than once have I shed tears for this when I was still cardinal."

At the close of the conference Joyeuse remarked, that the King of Navarre had, in the time of his weakness, found succour from Elizabeth and the Protestants, and that the Pope was so much the more bound to support Henry III. Despite of this argument, the Pope deferred the whole application to a college of cardinals.

In a second report of the following day, (Nov. 2, 1587,) Joyeuse writes : The Pope says your Majesty must combat all the disobedient, Catholics as well as heretics ; nay, he named the principal Catholics, saying that your Majesty should cut off their heads, and such like things. When I brought him back repeatedly to the loan, he replied, "I should be ashamed to lend the King so small a sum as 300,000 dollars ; I would rather give a million ; but all must go quietly." We (Joyeuse and the ambassador) could extort from him nothing further than,—that

the congregation had yet furnished no report, and we must allow him to conduct his business at leisure and without hurry.

Soon after we wished to lay before him, in your Majesty's name, some names of persons whom he might nominate cardinals. He interrupted us, however, and said, "The King is not to suppose that I will name cardinals at his pleasure, before Lenoncourt presents himself before me, as is fitting. Nay, I will take from him his cardinal's hat, if he do not appear before the next promotion takes place. He is a perjured man, who has let eleven months pass away without appearing to his duty. The cardinal of Sens, he said another time, will never mend himself, he is incorrigible, without all judgement. Otherwise, what I have so often represented to him, and the hard rebuffs he has so often received from me when I found that remonstrance was useless, would have produced their effect upon him *.

The Pope received, subsequently, information that the heretics had been defeated in France, and that no thanksgiving or rejoicing had been solemnized in consequence †. With reference to this, he remarked, during the open sitting of the consistory, "Saul was severely rebuked, threatened, and punished, be-

* Nov. 16, 1587.

† Feb. 8, 1588.

cause he failed, after his victory over the Amalekites, to put to death, in compliance with the command of the Lord, men, women, children, oxen, sheep, and other living things." Joyeuse felt that the Pope uttered this against the King of France, but held his peace in order to avoid scandal. So much the more did Sixtus extol Queen Elizabeth, saying, that if she were not an heretic she would be worth a world. What a praiseworthy work to convert such a woman!

When the Arch-duke Maximilian was taken by the Poles, the Pope said, "The sins of the House of Austria are the cause of this calamity."* The Emperor Rodolph II. is a poor prince with no good quality, and a cold Catholic, and his father Maximilian† was a very bad prince without any religion. In this Polish enterprize they shewed neither justice nor prudence. As an election had already taken place, it was incumbent upon them to exhibit dexte-

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 504. fol. 39.

† Maximilian II., the most tolerant, and perhaps, on the whole, the best sovereign of his day. The Archduke Maximilian was his fourth son, and was defeated and taken prisoner by the Primate of Poland in endeavouring to place himself on the throne of that country in 1588. He was obliged to purchase his liberty by yielding the crown to his rival Sigismund, son of John, King of Sweden, by the Polish Princess Catherine Jaghellon. He was afterwards Grand Master of the Teutonic order. He died without issue in 1619. [Tr.]

city, power and courage, in order to prevail. The Poles wished to pocket his money like that of every one else. Now, however, it is to be hoped, that the Prince Sigismund of Sweden will suppress, not only the Polish, but also the Swedish heretics.

In a similar sense to Joyeuse, the French Ambassador, the Marquis Pisani, writes to Henry III*. The Pope will do us no mischief, in as far as it may require expense to do it. Whether he may not apply other means and devices, I cannot take upon myself to answer. Notwithstanding an intermittent fever, he will not keep his bed, consults no physician, scoffs at their ignorance, labours without ceasing, and will not lose an hour; all for the sake of leaving affairs in the best possible state for his successor.

* Dupuy, 504. Despatch of Dec. 24, 1587.

LETTER XXXIII.

Old and new Ligue.—Influence of Philip II.—Character of Henry, Duke of Guise.—His wife.—Catherine of Medicis and Henry IV.—The Barricades.—Flight of Henry III.—Guise and the President Harlay.—The English Ambassador Stafford upon these affairs.—Debaucheries of Henry III.—Pasquinades on the French Court.

UPON the times of the Ligue, the House of Guise, the Barricades, &c., I have found many notices in the Paris MSS. which may serve for correction of the information already extant. I shall, however, leave that employment to others, and content myself with simply imparting what these sources of information afford me.

In the first place, an anonymous writer narrates as follows *: The first Ligue arose out of the assembly of the Church at Trent, and ended with the death of the elder Duke of Guise. Finée, secretary to the elder cardinal of Lorraine, possessed the papers which related to it. In another manner

* Dupuy MSS. Vol. 661.

sprung up the new great Ligue ; at least, Antonio Perez told Monsieur de Vair : Don John of Austria* bound himself, (during his stay at Paris,) on his journey to Flanders, in a compact with the Duke of Guise, of mutual support against their respective sovereigns. The Duke of Mayenne, however, knew nothing of this alliance. Proofs of all this were found in the papers of Escovedo, and might have excited the King (Philip II.) against the Duke of Guise. The King of France, however, negotiating in the mean time with the Dutch, and thwarting the plans of the Spaniards in Flanders, and the Queen mother having taken Cambrai into her protection, Philip determined rather to revenge himself on Henry III., and offered the Duke a pension of 200,000 dollars. The Duke entered willingly into the plan, but wished to wait for the death of Henry. It was only when the Spanish minister, John de Mendoza, pressed for the greatest haste, since without it the affairs of Philip must suffer material injury, that Guise was compelled to proceed.

The author of this paper adds to this narrative of

* Don John of Austria was one of the greatest intriguers that ever lived, and the wildest in his schemes. Perez, however, is seldom to be depended upon. [Tr.]

Antonio Perez : the Duke of Guise was so crafty that he deceived all with whom he dealt. Having secrets of all sorts ready for use, and imparting one thing to one man, and another to another, in order to lead them whither he would, he made every one believe himself in the secret of the real posture of affairs. Thus he promised the Pope and made him believe one thing, the King of Spain another, the Queen mother a third, the Duke of Lorraine a fourth, Mayenne a fifth, &c.

Our informant represents the relations of Guise to his wife very differently from Alexander Dumas. He says, viz., in order to gain adherents, the Duke (did the impossible) went all lengths, and lent his wife to all comers, even to Monsieur St. Megrin, who was surprised with her on the bed of the Queen mother, at which the Duke merely laughed*.

That the enterprises of the Guises against the King are older than the alliance of 1585, appears in addition to other evidence, from a letter of the English Envoy Cobham to Leicester, May 13, 1580†. The Duke of Mayenne complained lately of the ill government of France, and required, in the name of

* This account of Catherine of Cleves is at variance with all that Sully and other authors of repute say of her character.

† Caligula E. vii. Bib. Cotton.

Guise, the Duke Casimir of Pfalz Simmern to set on foot for him 8000 Reistres, and 6000 Swiss; he would make over to him five French towns on his own children as hostages. Casimir agreed, but the thing came to nothing, by reason that he demanded the free exercise of their religion for the Huguenots, that Condé and Navarre should be restored, &c.

Henry III. would willingly have gained over the King of Navarre, but for weighty reasons did not himself conduct the negociation to its result. Catherine of Medicis undertook it, Dec. 25, 1586. From her long conference with Henry IV., I extract the following*.

Catherine. "Have I not always shewn myself your good mother and friend?"

Henry. "Yes, up to my fifteenth year, but for six years past, your disposition has been greatly altered towards me, &c."

C. "Do you wish that the trouble which I have given myself these six months past should remain entirely fruitless, after you have so long detained me with trifles?"

H. "That is not my fault, Madam, but your own. I do not hinder you from sleeping in all convenience

* It is to be found very circumstantially detailed in Dupuy MSS. Vol. 317.

in your bed, but you, for eighteen months past, have prevented me from resting in mine."

C. "Must I then always remain in this trouble, when I ask for nothing but repose?"

H. "This trouble pleases and refreshes you. If you were at rest you would not live long."

C. "I once knew you so mild and persuadable, and now you give free course to your passion."

H. "You are right, Madam, but long sufferings and your hostile treatment, have altered me, and changed my early disposition."

As Henry next spoke of his resources, Catherine answered: "Herein, my son, you deceive yourself greatly, you fancy you have forces, and have in fact none." "Madam," rejoined Henry, "I am not here to learn news from you on that subject." With these words the conversation, as given in our MSS. closes. Another MS*. bears the title, *Histoire particulière de ce qui c'est passé a Paris au jour des Barricades et autres jours suivans au mois de Mai, 1588.* The author has not given his name, but was without doubt an eye-witness, of the Duke of Guise's party. I impart the substance of it as follows.

That the Duke of Guise might not enter Paris, the Swiss and other troops guarded all the ways. Nay,

* Dupuy, Vol. 47.

it is said, they had command to kill him, in the event of his endeavouring to penetrate by force, which many good citizens were alarmed about. At eleven in the evening, Guise left Soissons, was not detained by the Swiss and other troops, and entered Paris towards noon by the Porte St. Martin. He was muffled, and covered his face with his mantle till he reached the Rue St. Denis. There, a young gentleman of his following, named Fourronée, as if in sport, lifted his hat from his head, and said it was time he should let himself be known. As soon as he was in this manner recognized, the report was every where spread that the Duke of Guise was come. Pursuing his way, he alighted before the door of the Queen mother's residence, who received the first account of the event from her female dwarf, who was looking out of the window. She refused to believe it, and said the dwarf should be whipped for lying. The moment, however, she discovered that the dwarf had spoken the truth, she was so moved with joy and content, that she was seen to tremble, shudder, and change colour*.

When the King received the account, he said, "Guise should be welcome," but ordered his guards

* Mais l'instant elle connut que la naine disait vrai, dont elle fut tellement emue d'aise et de contentement, qu'on l'a vu trembler, frisoner, et changer de couleur.

to assemble. In the first audience, the Duke declared, he was come to justify himself and share with his friends their danger, knowing that there was an intention to maltreat them, as he had seen by an heap of letters, a good foot high*.

The people behaved very coldly at the first erection of the barricades, but warmed up afterwards by degrees, in such fashion, that in a few hours they had closed up many streets. Monsieur de Dinteville, who had remained with his Switzers on the new market-place, did what he could to keep the people within bounds, sometimes by threats, sometimes by fair words. At first he said, the King only wished to cause a search by means of his gentlemen in the quarters and houses of the city. He then declared, the citizens should conduct the search, enter the houses first, and be only supported by the gentlemen. The King would not take it ill that the citizens should arm themselves, only no one must go out of his house. Soon afterwards an order was issued

* Henry III. wrote May 9, 1588, to his minister in London, Monsieur de Chateanneuf. The Duke of Guise arrived here yesterday about noon unexpectedly. He tells me he wishes to justify himself against all calumnies, and prays me to believe, that he is ready to do every thing for my service. I shall wait for the good consequences of this promise. Pinart depeches, Vol. 8808.

from the council-house, in the sense of the last assurance of Dinteville, and in contradiction of the two former. Under the impossibility of disarming the citizens, they hoped to be able, by this mode of proceeding, to keep them in their houses.

The president, Tambonneau, commander of the citè quarter, who had done all in his power to prevent the gathering of the citizens and the barricades, betook himself to the King, and entreated him to withdraw the guards and the Swiss, which, however, (as he himself told me,) was steadfastly refused.

It was remarked, that the King, in speech and countenance, was never so joyous and cheerful as on this morning. He said to the Archbishop of Lyons, who waited on him, "I must be obeyed, and will remain master." As the archbishop could not procure compliance with his repeated suggestion for the withdrawal of all the troops, he went to the Queen mother, to represent to her the greatness of the danger—was aware, however, from the words and deportment of the King that some great plan was in agitation, and that there was no safety for him. On this account, he borrowed from one of his friends (he had come on foot) who lived near the Louvre, a mule, mounted upon which, he hastened to Guise's residence, made a report of his embassy, and assured

the Duke that he was come to live and die with him.

Meanwhile the bravadoes of an officer, who commanded in the Hotel de Ville, heightened the discontent. They perceived in the gateway a servant of the executioner, who was there, either by chance or for some casual reason, and excited by his appearance great alarm of violent measures. Every one hastened to arm himself; but the adherents of Guise were to those of the King as 1000 to 30, so that it was no longer possible to bring the soldiers supplies of powder or provision.

In the first conflict, which took place near St. Michael's Bridge, the soldiers shewed courage, and repulsed the citizens. But four or five nobles, and some foreign officers, encouraging the latter, their zeal redoubled, and they attacked the soldiers with such fury, especially from the windows, that the latter were obliged to abandon their ground.

At this time the King sent Mons. de Bellièvre to Guise to appease him, or (as some say) to merely restrain him, and gain time. The Duke said, "I know well that the King, with his good will, would send me to the Bastille, and put several of my friends to death. Before it comes to that, so much blood will be shed, as to cause himself to be moved with

horror ; and as to the Bastille, there I will never go, unless the fancy takes me to do so."

Meanwhile the danger increased to that degree, that the King sent a second envoy, Mons. de Biron, to the Duke. The latter said, I have not stirred from my house, how much soever entreated thereto. It is the King's excellent council,—it is that wretched creature, Mons. de O——, who have counselled him so well. He says I am followed by none but porters (*crocheteurs*). He may depend, however, upon this, that if he fall into my hands, I will have him whipped from the gate of St. Antoine to that of St. Jaques by porters.

Guise at last went forth, in a doublet of white satin, with no other arms than his sword at his side. Some cried out, Live the Guise ! At which he appeared offended, and cried aloud, "My friends, you ruin me ; cry, Live the King !" As he passed over the bridge of Notre Dame, and saw the barricades so well constructed, he said to some of the citizens near ; "You have done every thing wonderfully well." Upon which, one answered from the crowd, "Sire, we were once flies, but your presence has made us lions."

Barricades of the same kind were constructed even in the Rue St. Honoré and St. Germain

D'Auxerrois; a proof of extreme dissatisfaction with the court. They were also in the Louvre very much dejected with the expectation of a regular siege.

The number of killed is computed at thirty, the wounded at eighty *. A preacher said from the pulpit, "as the Jews had their feast of branches, so we must have our feast of barricades." Above all things were praised by all, the more than heroic virtue, moderation, and wisdom of the Duke of Guise, who would not leave his residence until the King ordered him, in order to set free his, the King's, soldiers. At last the king ordered it to be said, that he wished to visit the Holy Chapel, to which, however, they made answer, that they would not on that account remove the barricades. The King was hereupon much offended; the citizens, however, feared, that, under pretext of this religious solemnity, something was to be undertaken against them. Even the Queen mother was obliged to go on foot, and they removed at each barricade only a single barrel, let her pass through, and replaced it immediately. She displayed a cheerful, determined countenance, without betraying astonishment at any thing.

* By others rated much higher.

The King himself was on the point of betaking himself from the Louvre to the Tuilleries; in the same moment, however, the question was put to the Duke, whether they should detain him. Guise answered with great warmth, "No! he is my king, and free to go or stay, as he pleases." The King stayed but a short time, waiting for his carriage, in the Tuilleries; rested himself upon a stone weeping, and said, among other things, "O thankless city, I have loved thee more than my own wife." The Captain Clerc brought the Duke the keys of the gate of St. Antoine; he, however, would in no wise take them. A gentleman, however, of his suite, who was by, received them. The chief of the merchants was conducted for his own security to the Bastille. Guise caused another to be elected, who was obliged to take the usual oath, and swear it into the Duke's hands.

The commandant of Vincennes came out of the castle on the assurance that he might treat in peace, and that no harm should happen to him. As, however, he had taken no hostages, or provided for his safe return in the event of a disagreement, he was kept fast till the castle was given up.

To these accounts I add another, which apparently is from the pen of the Parliament's councillor, Du Vair, an eye-witness.

The Duke of Guise and the Archbishop of Lyons went to the president Harlay*, excused the disorders which had taken place, complained of the King's departure, and said, that it was all popular violence which they were unable to oppose. Harlay answered him roundly ;—all these things are in the highest degree dangerous, and he who excites the people ought to be brought to reckoning for it. You, Duke, should consider your honour, your alliances, your ancestors, who were faithful to the king. You should be better advised, and not stain your glory by lending encouragement to bad subjects. Guise and his companions lost their composure so completely upon this, that they knew not how to answer, and the Duke said, as he went out, I have found myself in battles, assaults, and rencounters the most dangerous in the world, but never have I been so checked or astounded as at my encounter with this man. He is like a rock, exposed to every tempest,

* Achille I. de. This great magistrate, who appears to such advantage in the passage of the text, held and adorned the presidentship of the Parliament for 34 years ; viz., from 1582 to the year of his death, 1616. He was distinguished as an opponent to the Jesuits and other supporters of the ultramontane doctrines. He attributed to the former the assassination of Henry IV., and professed to be acquainted with some facts in proof of this supposition, which he never disclosed. [Tr.]

but immoveable, and ever firmly bent upon the maintenance of the State, the Crown, and the King.

Soon after, they would fain change all the holders of office in the state, and Guise conducted the Cardinal Bourbon to the Parliament, to make the necessary suggestions to this effect. Bourbon, however, merely said, "All wished to maintain the religion, and Guise, his nephew, would lay before them the rest." Guise immediately took up the word, but inasmuch as he only understood how to converse in the corner of a window, but not to speak in public, he repeatedly turned pale and fell into such discomposure that he was much hindered in his words, nor could the little he said be heard even by the near by-standers, so softly and between the teeth did he speak. At last he concluded, like the cardinal, that the Parliament must remain united with the city.—Hereupon the President Harlay turned first to the cardinal, and said; we are all much rejoiced to see you among us after the commotions which have taken place; for we know the name you bear, the rank you hold in the State, and the interest you take in its preservation. On this account we hope and believe that you will conduct yourself with all prudence, and so direct and manage all things as the King's service shall require, to

whom we owe our posts, our revenues, and our lives. Nor can any other resolution be expected of the Parliament than such as may serve to this end.

Then turning to Guise, Harlay proceeded: As to you, Sire, your ancestors have obtained many benefactions, fiefs, dignities, and alliances in this kingdom, only for this reason, that they did our King's distinguished services. It should not be your part to degenerate from this virtue and fidelity, nor to give ear to those, who place before you the bait of an empty greatness, the pursuit of which must be your destruction, and which you will never be able to enjoy in peace. You should, on the contrary, recommend yourself to the admiration of posterity by this, that you stand by the King on this weighty occasion, and regain his favour by pardon or in some other manner. Pompey won not the name of Great by gaining so many battles, and conquering so many nations, but because he sustained and reincorporated the laws of the state. As to what concerns the Parliament, it is seated on the Lilies and is based upon the King; can, therefore, only do his service, and will rather forfeit the lives of its members than be compelled to any thing opposed to that service.

Guise and his followers withdrew without resolution or answer, but persisted in changing, by their own authority, the head of the merchants and the

other persons in office. Harlay received afterwards the very probable information that he, with some of his partizans, were to be arrested. He refused, however, to fly, but said, if they seek me they will easily find me, in the worthiest place, in my president's chair.—When Le Clerc entered, he refused to follow him to prison, at last, however, consented, by advice of the others, in order to avoid greater violence and effusion of blood.

A third MS. source of information upon this period are the letters of the English ambassador, Stafford to Walsingham, v. copy of letter, Bibl. Harl. No. 288. p. 190.

Cowardice followed close on the heels of overweening confidence in the conduct of Henry. Buzenval, in proof of this, writes to Walsingham, May 31: The King is quite ready to serve under the domination of his people, inasmuch as they will ensure him his life and his repose*. Stafford soon after adds†, the Liguists require unreasonable things, but ever by word of mouth, never in writing, that the people may not be instructed of the particulars, but be made believe that the Liguists do nothing for themselves, but every thing for religion, for the public good, &c. Elizabeth was so displeased with

* Bibl. Cott. Nero, B. vi.

† Letter of June 13, 1588. Bibl. Harl. No. 288, p. 200.

this march of affairs, that she offered Henry III. money and men for carrying on war*.

How, however, was it possible to assist a King who abandoned himself, and fell into universal and just contempt? Much concerning his proceedings may be exaggerated or falsified. There are, however, but too many witnesses against him, and I have found some passages in a French MS.†, after the perusal of which, it appears, in truth, something very innocent and insignificant that the King should have undertaken the occupation of a tailor, have dressed himself up with childish folly, or should have gone about constantly with his wife in a coach, and picked up as he went, all the lap-dogs he could find in the houses‡.

* Letter of June 16. Hackluyt to Jocquelin, Bibl. Harl. No. 288. p. 202.

† The translator omits the extract which Mr. Raumer has veiled in Latin.—Henry's debaucheries have become too notorious, as matters of history, to make any particular account of them valuable. [Tr.]

‡ Allait ordinairement en coche avec la reine son epouse par les rues et maisons de Paris, prendre les petits chiens.

LETTER XXXIV.

Murder of the Guises.—Justification of Henry III.—Instructions to his Ambassadors at Madrid and Rome.—Accusation and Justification of the Legate Morosini.—Murder of Henry III.—Letter of Henry IV. to his Ambassadors, and of the Duke of Mayenne to the King of Spain upon this murder and the posture of affairs.

HENRY III. has been with justice severely handled for having ordered the murder of the Guises; yet it may well be asserted that the chief guilt lay less in the last determination than in all that preceded it, and which led almost inevitably to the crime. In any case it is curious to see how he himself represented the occurrence, and sought to justify it to foreign powers. Two instructions which he forwarded to his ministers at Madrid and Rome afford upon this point the fullest and best information. In a letter of April 3, 1589, addressed to Monsieur du Fresne Forget*, he makes lively complaint of the

* Dupuy, Vol. 121. Bibl. Roy. 8682. p. 63. Instruction also to Schomberg despatched to Germany in 1589. Brienne MSS. Vol. 292.

shameless and unjust demands which daily reached him from the deputies of the States, and were calculated to deprive him of all consideration and power. These things were, moreover, concocted by the Guises who paid, in no instance, regard to the King or the State. The whole conduct (he proceeds) of Guise, his intrigues to gain over the nobility, the citizens, and even the King's own servants, his threats, and the compulsion inflicted upon every one who did not own his controul, shewed visibly to what his efforts tended, nor could his dependents restrain themselves from saying as much out of bravado.—Besides this, the King had received several warnings both from within his own dominions and from foreign parts, that he must guard himself against an enterprise soon to be undertaken, which tended to deprive him of his liberty and crown:—so that nothing else remained to the King for the salvation of his kingdom and person than to do what he had done.—He had in nowise long entertained a plan against the Guise, but, compelled by necessity, had formed it at the moment when he received positive intelligence of the conspiracy, and the danger appeared so pressing, that no other measure remained to be adopted.

The King had moreover received repeated advices, that Philip of Spain had supported the Liguists from

the beginning of their enterprises. Nor did the Duke or his adherents conceal the fact, and the positive proofs of it were partly found in his papers, and partly confirmed by the testimony of his secretaries and other counsellors *. It was true his Majesty believed that the King of Spain had been deceived by the pretext of religion put forward by the Guises; yet the ambassador may represent to him, that it was setting a bad example to stand by subjects revolted against their sovereign, and that God (as a just judge) often let fall the mischief executed by the instrumentality of others upon the head of its contriver. Philip also, already stricken in years as he was, and about to leave his dominions to a very young inheritor, should rather look to raising up friends than enemies.

In the case that allusion be here made to what the brother of his Majesty had done against Philip in the Netherlands, Monsieur du Fresne may reply with truth, that the King did not approve of those proceedings, but had altogether opposed them. Yet respect for his mother (who supported Anjou, because she thought herself injured as to her claims on

* Many of these papers were burnt by a secretary of Guise's. Guise had wished to give up Cambrai to Philip. Instruction to the Bishop of Mans.

Portugal) prevented him from employing all his means against his brother, who, moreover, looked to keeping for himself alone every thing which he might gain by that enterprise.

Then follow bitter complaints of the Spanish ambassador, Bernardin di Mendoza, who had quitted the King without taking leave, and had joined himself entirely to the rebels of Paris *. Never would the King treat with him again. The Duke of Guise (it proceeds, towards the conclusion) feared nothing so much as the destruction of the heretics, since all pretexts would thereby have been cut off from him. While he openly professed that his object was to effect their ruin, he laboured secretly with no small anxiety for their maintenance.

In like manner, but more circumstantially, the instruction to the Bishop of Mans at Rome unfolds the entire occurrence, and says, with reference to the time of the barricades †, the Duke of Guise found himself in Paris, and in the King's chamber, before the latter was aware of his departure from Soissons. The King escaped, it is true, to Chartres, (to the great dissatisfaction of the Duke and his party.) His wife and mother, who remained in Paris, were however kept there in such strict custody, that the

* P. 75.

† Dupuy, 288.

latter was refused liberty to hear mass before the gate of the Capucins, and when they afterwards allowed her this, she was surrounded with guards, to prevent her from escaping.

At last, for the sake of peace, the King desisted from many demands, and called the States together, but by means both of force and persuasion, party elections, &c., those appeared at the head of them who had instigated the troubles and put themselves in opposition to the King. Their proposals went to the annihilation of his authority. Every one who held by them, however vicious, or even criminal, was put forward and supported against all process of law, as a part of the authorities were members of the Ligue, and the rest feared their displeasure. In the King's council and presence, the Duke treated every thing concerning the Ligue with such boldness, that no one dared to contradict him, or if any one ventured to do so, it was immediately proposed in the States assembly to drive him from the council.

The Duke compelled the King to give him up Orleans as a place of security, in consequence of a condition, which was inserted as a parenthesis, and in virtue of a writing, which he caused to be more fully drawn up at Chartres than it had been at Paris. The King had never heard of it, and was much astonished when Guise shewed him the document. Two

whole days he wrangled upon it on trifling grounds, insisted then, as being the stronger, upon its contents, although he well knew that the King had been surprised and deceived as to its preparation.

Monsieur de l'Hermitage, first physician to the King, spoke against the Guise upon this affair, but the latter contrived to raise the States so against him, that Henry was obliged to yield to their unbecoming remonstrances, and remove his physician from his person ; and the same had nearly happened to Monsieur de Rambouillet on similar grounds. One day the Duke, in the presence of the Queen mother and the King, drove his disrespect and insolence so far as to say, "he would not swear to the points which the King had wished to make the States swear to, and that no one should make him." On which the Queen mother rejoined, that the King would then be able to punish him.

If any faithful servant of the King found himself in any city under the Duke's command, the latter compelled him to quit it. Such contempt did he exhibit, that, on the day before his death, he, with very angry deportment, insisted that the King should withdraw all his power. In a word, he would have brought it to this ; that the King should have had no power left to chastise a revolt or any other enormity. Every one contemned him and held him for

lost ; and, as at home, so also abroad, he had, by his intrigues, worked against the King, and nothing remained to be done by the conspirators but the last act of the tragedy, to make seizure of the King's person, in order to conduct all things their own way. Nor could they, after what had happened at Paris, do better for the purpose of escaping their merited punishment.

The King received many accounts of the plans of the Duke. Six weeks before the death of the latter, the Duchess of Aumale sent word that she must speak with the King on matters of great consequence, and said to him in the chamber of his wife, "The Duke of Aumale has written to me, that he was present at a consultation at Paris, where the decision was adopted, to seize on the rights and the person of your Majesty and carry you back to Paris. To this end they are about, for the event of possible resistance, to collect 3000 or 4000 men in the neighbourhood of Blois. As my husband disapproves this proceeding, he has empowered me to inform your Majesty of it, that your Majesty may provide your security." The Duchess of Aumale made the same report to the Queen consort, the Queen mother, and many other ladies.

Two or three days before the death of the two Guises, Mons. de Ornano came as courier to the

King, and told him, on commission from the Duke of Mayenne, to be on his guard, for that an enterprise of danger against his majesty was so near at hand, that he, Ornano, would perhaps first hear of it when the blow had been already struck.

It has been, moreover, repeatedly stated to the King, that the Cardinal Guise often said to his confidants, "I will not die before I have got the head of that Henry, that I may shave it for a monk's." On which the Duchess of Montpensier did not refrain from adding, after her habitual warmth,—“I have about me the scissors wherewith to clip him.”*

Thus no means remained for saving the state, and the life of the King, other than to take the lives of those who built their greatness on such unjust and impious foundations; so that nature, reason, God, and justice, as also the compassion the King felt for the endless misery which the execution of those plans must have brought upon his subjects, compelled him to punish those criminals as they deserved, by the legal power which God had given

* Catherine of Lorraine, sister to Henry, Duke of Guise. The greatest liguiste and intrigante of her day. She was held for the authoress of Henry III.'s murder. Yet Henry IV. played at cards with her the evening after his recovery of Paris and his throne. His clemency was certainly pushed too far, and what was its reward? [Tr.]

him over those who undertake or execute what is contrary to the law. Had the King in this matter proceeded by the ordinary forms of justice, he would have been, beyond doubt, a lost man.

Somewhat later, (in May, 1589,) Henry III. sent a new envoy to Rome, De la Clielle Brochard, in order to justify the necessity of the above measures,—his alliance with Henry IV., the arrest of the Archbishop of Lyons and others, and to procure the Papal absolution*. At Rome, however, the thing was taken very seriously, and the Cardinal Morosini was even subjected to enquiry, who had been legate in France at the time. The following is to be found in the despatches of the French ambassador, Maisse†. After the death of the Duke of Guise, Henry sent a letter to the legate, wherein he gave him to understand, he had brought to execution that which had been agreed upon between them. This letter Morosini sent to the Pope, and declared, upon interrogation, that he had, as an upright and faithful servant, delivered the original copy to his Holiness, but that he had never had the smallest share in the occurrences. Nor could they possibly take him to be so

* Dupuy, Vol. 288.

† Depeches de Maisse, Jan. 20, 1590. Vol. i. p. 102. Fond de Serilly.

maladroit and foolish, as in such case to have sent a letter containing the proof of the fact to the Pope. After the death of the Duke, he had opposed the execution of the Cardinal, but had been unable to obtain access to the King, through the guards who surrounded him.

On the further question, why Morosini, after the death of the Cardinal, had not left the court and his post?—he answered:—"In order not to set to hazard the obedience of a kingdom such as France. The calamity, moreover, had taken place, and it was always time enough to depart after receiving orders to that effect from the Pope."

The last accusation of having, after the Duke's death, laughed with the King, and shewn pleasure, Morosini styled, a calumny of his enemies;—"he was an honest man, and might have erred from ignorance but not from wickedness."

Within no more than eight months after the murder of Guise, the King, as is well known, came by a similar end. Jaques Clement (writes the Bishop of Rennes) * was impelled by nothing but his own zeal, inspired by none but God, and offered himself to martyrdom, to free the world of one whose crimes and villanies had risen to such a pitch, that they

* Harleian Library, 4449, fol. 34. Aug. 8, 1589.

were no longer to be tolerated. A sort of official narrative of the event is to be found in a letter of Henry IV., of Aug. 18, 1589, to Mons. de Maisse, his ambassador at Venice*. Since nothing is so certain as not to admit of discrepancies in the modes of narrating it, I will communicate the following:—A jacobin monk, Jaques Clement, who came out of Paris to the camp, was arrested by some of our soldiers, but by accident liberated out of their hands by the Procureur-General, to whom he said, he was the bearer of a writing from the first president to the King. By order of the King he was brought on the following day (Tuesday, Aug. 1st) to his chamber, where was present no one but Mons. de Bellegarde. After Jaques had handed the counterfeited writing to the King, (who was seated on a chair,) he added, he had something secret to communicate to him. As the King hereupon caused Bellegarde and the Procureur to retire, the other made as though he would draw out a second concealed letter, but drew out in its stead a knife, and struck the King with it in the lower belly. The King drew it instantly out of the wound, and struck the assassin with it on the head, which he, however, forthwith repented of. The gentlemen who had entered on the alarm, then slew the cri-

* Maisse Depeches i. p. 97, b.

minal, although the King called to them not to do so, which would also have been much better, in order to have learned from his own mouth in what shop this impious conspiracy had been forged. There is, however, no lack of proofs. But the just pain and rage which seized upon those gentlemen, left no room for obedience to the King's order, or to other considerations. At first the physicians and surgeons did not remark that the bowels were injured, and gave good hopes of his recovery. Towards night-fall, the pain, however, increased, and lasted without interruption till towards two in the morning, when he gave up the ghost, to my great grief, and that of all his faithful servants.

At the same instant the princes, marshals, and other distinguished persons, remained collected about me, determined to enquire strictly into the causes of this unhappy murder, swore fidelity to me as their king, and promised service and obedience in every thing which, under my guidance, could contribute to the welfare and maintenance of the crown. I have, on the other hand, promised them to maintain them in their rights, dignities, and possessions; refer myself, in regard to my administration, to the wise counsel of the princes of the blood, and other eminent persons, and shall undertake nothing of change in regard of the Catholic religion.

In quite another sense is the letter written, in which the Duke of Mayenne announces the event to Philip*.

Sire, it has pleased God to take hence a king, whom he suffered to reign for a time, for the affliction of his subjects. This murder has been undertaken and perpetrated by a jacobin monk, of his own motion, (by the inspiration of God,) and without aid or impulse from any other person. God has chosen out so humble an instrument for this vengeance, that all may see that it is purely his work. I have, since the death of Henry III., caused the Cardinal of Bourbon to be proclaimed King, and we do every thing that is possible to procure his release from captivity. The Prince of Bearn assumes, on his side, the title of King, and exerts his best to become master, and I fear that more are inclined to follow his party than ours. If the good cause and the Catholics of this unhappy and ruined country have in time past experienced your majesty's support, good will, and kindness, they are now in greater need thereof than ever, when their adversary is head of the heretics, and will find support from all princes who have separated themselves from the church. This has happened accordingly already on

* Fontette Portefeuille, vii. No. 19.

the part of Queen Elizabeth, and from many in this kingdom, who, under the name of Catholics, seek to establish heresy. We humbly pray that your majesty may bestow your greatness, dignity, and name, for our preservation, and thereby earn our eternal obligation. As you are the greatest monarch upon earth, so are you the only and true defender of the church and the Catholics in all Christendom. We, whose religion and State have been maintained by your benefits, will evermore acknowledge that we have to thank you for all, and I in particular will derive to myself no security, no eminence, no rule of my conduct from any other quarter, than such as springs from your commands, and binds me as your obedient and fast servant.

LETTER XXXV.

Instructions of Philip to his Ambassador at Paris.—Henry IV.'s negociations in Italy.—Despatches of the Ambassador Maise.—Views of Pope Sixtus V.—Condition of Henry IV.—Contest between Spain and the Pope.—Death of the latter.

EVEN if Philip II. had not been so urgently entreated by Mayenne, and others of that party, to mix himself up in French affairs, his restless policy would have driven him into that course. Upon the very interesting question; how he considered the state of things, and what he aimed at, we derive valuable information from the instruction which in October 1590, he sent to his ambassador in Paris *. It runs in substance as follows: the firmness with which Paris has defended our faith, well deserved the

* Fontette Portefeuille vi. No. 38. MSS. entitled, Ce que sa Majesté entend être negocié pour les affaires de France, afin de les mettre au chemin qu'il pretend. Another is in Dupuy, Vol. 44.

grace which God has shewn her, to be able to hold out through so long a siege, which, together with the aid partly afforded her, must, and it is to be hoped has taken from her every idle apprehension. The raising of the siege would, however, be an inadequate result of such signal exertions, for Paris might easily within a short time fall back into similar misery, and the Catholic religion ruined. It is therefore necessary to bring all things into order with the greatest zeal after the manner hereafter laid down.

In the first place we must obtain the command of all the rivers and roads, which lie within the compass of the Bearnese's operations, and must cut off his supplies. None but zealous Catholics are to be placed in command, or in the garrisons, since otherwise our earlier mischances might easily occur. We must at the same time, warn the Parisians, as well as all Catholic gentlemen and towns, to remain united, and firmly determined to exclude the Bearnese, and root out the heresies, without other object than the pursuit of the church's interests, and without delaying to look at private advantage, out of which nothing can flow but disunion and ruin. In order to meet every difficulty, we must well consider what strife and difference exists among the Catholics as to the name and notion of the King, and its consequences. The Catholics, namely, subsequent to the death of

the Cardinal Bourbon*, fight without a leader, bearing that title, and on whom they can support themselves, a want which occasions many Catholics and trimoners to join the party of the enemy. All impartial men will see that this is one of the most important points for France, and every one who gives judicious counsel upon this point, merely consults his own advantage.

Before, however, how just soever our cause, we speak out in any way on this subject, we must, in order to remove all jealousy and suspicion, treat with the Duke of Mayenne, and make representations to him in confidence in his majesty's name. If he then were to fall into doubt, in despite of all assistance, as to whether he could consider himself in condition to assert the first place, he must be assured that in any case, (whoever may be King,) the second place of General Lieutenant shall, according to his deserts, through Spanish help, fall to his lot. We must further take care that the Duke of Guise, as soon as he is freed from prison, receive one of the best places, at his choice, as the death and services of his father and grandfather require, both of whom died for the Catholic religion.

* Uncle to Henry IV. He died, May 8, 1590, in captivity at Fontenay Le Comte. The Ligue had proclaimed him King, to which title he had no just pretension. [Tr.]

As soon as this affair is regulated with Mayenne, we may proceed further in concert, but at the same time treat the people with gentleness, in order that it may take its determination, and wait patiently for greater events.

To assemble the States for the nomination of a King would be very tedious and dangerous, partly on account of the insecurity of the roads, partly on account of the so numerous claims, passions, and conflicting inclinations. A far shorter and far more direct way out, would be to carry through the election by help of the parliament and the city of Paris, which choice should be afterwards confirmed by the other towns and parliaments, as previously in the case of the Cardinal Bourbon.

In respect of the favour shewn by us, of the assistance received from us through the lapse of so many years, and the many proofs of our fast friendship, Paris would not do much for its duty, when it comes to the election, if she were to consult the King's voice and opinion. As he, moreover, is the only protector and defender of all that is sound and Catholic, they should, therefore, in discreet fashion, choose one who would be acceptable to him, for king of a country preserved by his assistance.

If they, in consequence of this language, should make any enquiry, as to whose nomination would

please his Majesty, we must at first confine ourselves to general language, and say, for example, the man who appears most capable for the maintenance of the Catholic religion, &c.

By this mode of procedure, which is much to be recommended, the Cardinal Vendome* will be excluded from all claims partly on account of his bad education from his infancy, partly because he has ranged himself not on the side of his uncle, but on that of his cousin and the heretics. On similar grounds his brothers, nay all of the House of Bourbon, must be excluded. Starting from this we may let the rights of the Infanta be asserted which accrue to her from birth and marriage; for the Salic law which is adduced against them is an empty invention, as the ablest and most learned of our controversialists perceive. In the mean time we must conduct ourselves with the greatest foresight, and proceed only little by little, in order not to spoil the affair, before the consent of the separate parties shall have been obtained.

It were best, to inform his Majesty upon the election, conditions, wishes, political relations, &c. and receive his further commands.

* Nephew to the Cardinal Bourbon. On the death of his uncle he put forward a claim to the throne as his successor, but had no means or party to support it. [Tr.]

In any case, the party elected would need Spanish assistance, and would be obliged to acknowledge and fulfil all former treaties ; those respecting Cambrai, the Ligue, the repayment of costs and advances, &c. inclusive. Should any difficulty from want of money arise upon this head, they might give in pledge some towns on the Flemish frontier, or opposite to England. It appears no less reasonable, and to the advantage of France, that the party elected should not marry without the consent of the King of Spain.

Should the choice fall on the Prince of Lorraine, it would be proper that his territories should be made over either to his Majesty, in return for his Majesty's renunciation of the claims on Burgundy and parts of the Netherlands, or to some other prince separated from France.

If the discussion should turn upon whom the Infanta could or should marry, our course should be to designate no one and exclude no one, but to give for answer, that the ambassador had no instructions on this head, and was so much the less acquainted with your Majesty's will in the matter, as you were extraordinarily fond of your only daughter, and that the circumstances of France were still unstable. On the other hand, however, things must be disposed to make it observed, that the recognition of the Infanta's claims is the only means to strengthen the right to

the throne, and would lead to the powerful and indispensable extension of your Majesty's support.

While Philip, in many ways, and after all only with an half determination, addressed himself to French affairs, Henry IV. sought to gain allies in Italy, and above all, to reconcile himself with the Pope. For better elucidation of these affairs, the despatches which his envoy, Monsieur de Maisse, forwarded from Rome and Venice will be of service*.

Letter of July 8, 1589. Your Majesty enjoys great consideration, not only here, (in Genoa,) but also throughout Italy, and even in Rome itself, and may be satisfied that there are no other means to win the friendship and respect of people here than, without regard of any one whatsoever, to be, or to become the strongest. The anger of the Pope (Sixtus V.) is presently declining, and he gives out every where that the Liguists have deceived him.

Letter of July 30, 1589. It will be extremely difficult to effect a reconciliation with the Pope at this moment, unless the King will do all and every thing he requires. This would involve him in endless absolutions, penances, and difficulties, and place the Pope's foot upon his neck : for it is the Pope's nature,

* Hurault, *Sieur de Maisses Ambassades*, Vol. iii. No. 11—13. Fond de Serilly.

to be insupportable towards those who humble themselves before him, and, *vice versá*, to honour and fear those who shew him their teeth, and stand upon their rights. On this occasion I must remark, that all Jews are incredibly excited against the Ligue, and maintain, they have always known that this revolt against the King would take place, but that the King, after many difficulties and dangers, would triumph.

Letter of Jan. 9, 1590. His Holiness is every day less edified with the Liguists. They little know also how to deal with him, for they ask money of him, which passes in Rome for the worst of all heresies. On this account the Pope says: "He begins to see that the war in France will not be carried on for the sake of religion." The Spaniards complain, and say the Pope abandons them, and will not turn himself to this war. Sixtus retaliates the like upon them, and thus might every one fall out with his partner's play.

Letter of Jan. 31, 1590. The Venetians shew their dissatisfaction, that they cannot openly declare for King Henry, but are held back by fear of the Pope, whom they knew for a man who easily takes offence, and will not hear reason. He would easily forego all other controversies in order to fall upon

them, as being the weaker, and instigate the King of Spain to the same course, who, without this, does not love the Venetians.

Letter of March 15, 1590. The Spanish ambassador has delivered an autograph letter of Philip to the Pope, wherein the King declares, that he shall consider the Pope as an enemy, in case of his granting an absolution to your Majesty. The Pope was so excited at this, that he at first refused to see the ambassador, and said to him, later, "I know the shamelessness of the Spaniards, and shall know how to defend myself against it." Also, "am I of such a nature, that you can do the King of France no greater service than by treating me in such a fashion."

Letter of May 15, 1590. The Italian princes wish your Majesty to become a Catholic, and to ally yourself with them and the Pope. This, however, presents great difficulties for the moment, for which reason the Pope himself declared, it was not convenient that your Majesty should now take that step. He wished to wait in patience, and leave it to time and the direction of Providence. Pope Sixtus came to this conclusion the more readily, because he has felt how ill the Spaniards have treated him. The Venetians, also, are convinced, that their preservation and liberties depend upon the favourable position of France with regard to Spain.

Some two months later, July 31, 1590, Henry IV. writes as follows to Maisse:—The great obstacle to my winning France, is want of money. The principal cities are occupied by others, trade is prostrate, the open country is ruined; so that I have none but volunteers in my army, (who leave it when it pleases them,) Swiss, and a few foreigners, whose support entails on me the greatest difficulties, since I am obliged to pay them at the old rates, although the half only of them be forthcoming. My adversaries would be no better off than myself in respect of money, but, inasmuch as the highest officers of the crown and the greater part of the nobility are on my side, still worse, if the King of Spain did not furnish them with great sums, raise soldiers for them, and, for the present, set aside his controversies with England and the Netherlands, only to wage war with greater effect against me.

When I weigh my difficulties in a human balance, they are astoundingly heavy; but when I throw into the scale, what grace God visibly shews me, what protection he has extended to me, (from which I may well argue the justice of my cause,) I comfort myself in all my need, feel myself strengthened against every enemy, and bear in patience and hope the present inconveniencies of my situation. If I could only raise a monthly sum of 100,000 dollars,

the King of Spain should assuredly repent of the unjust attack he has directed against me.

In another letter of Aug. 15 to Maisse, I. 258, the King instructs him:—It would be the duty of the Pope, in an impartial manner, to put an end to a war which equally undermines obedience, morality, and religion. The princes of my blood, he adds, the crown officers, the gentry, and all who adhere to me, know very well that religion nowise reigns in the hearts of those who are waging war on them and me. If, also, the ban be denounced against me and my faithful followers, it can only serve to bring the ban into utter disregard, for they in their consciences are assured that they are protected against it by the command of God, which binds them to obey me as their lawful king.

As to what further concerns the pretext: that I shall never be willing to change my religion, as appears to them sufficiently plain from my delay up to this moment; they may know that no fear or temporal regard shall ever bring me to such a change. On the other hand, I am not so obstinate as not to choose it, if any one convince me of my error. As, moreover, even in private disputes, time does not expire nor is refused to those in default, how much more should it not to me, who, since my accession to the throne, have had no leisure to think on any

thing but the war, and, in the absence of all security, could not collect around me prelates and ghostly advisers. In this state of things, the Pope should well beware how he, for the sake of the Spaniards, take a hasty measure, which must inflict on Christianity a severe wound, and one not easily to be cured.

I return now to the despatches of Maisse*. He writes, Aug. 22, 1590, i. p. 236:—When the Pope selected two ambassadors, one to the party of your Majesty, and the other to the Ligue, the Spanish ambassador told him that his master took this very ill, and well knew that the first was appointed, not to the princes and lords, but to your Majesty. Hereupon the Pope fell into extreme passion, and handled him so roughly, and took him up so sharply, that a good understanding between them can hardly be restored. All the Spaniards do, (he has been heard to say,) proceeds from vanity and bravado. Thus have they proceeded with their enterprize against England, thus they maintain the dissensions in France, and think they do great things in braving the Pope. But they shall soon know that I fear them not. After these words, the Pope withdrew to his chamber without waiting the Spaniard's answer.

* Maisse i. p. 236.

He would probably have declared himself openly against them if he had not died five days later, Aug. 27, at five in the afternoon *. Maisse relates as follows, with reference to this :—Sixtus grew so warm in his conference with the Spanish ambassador, that he told the latter, “ King Philip deserved to be put under ban for the injustice he had committed towards the papal chair and the French, as well as on other grounds, and that he was a Catholic only in name.

The next day the Pope was seized, in consequence of this excitement, with a tertiary fever, of which, refusing to obey any prescription of the physicians, or to abstain, during the great heat, from wine and fruits, he died, Aug. 27. Some say he was poisoned by the Spaniards, which others deny. The Spaniards are so universally detested by princes and people in Italy, that no one will longer endure them. It is wished that a Pope should be elected, who is friendly to the liberties of Italy ; but this must take place soon, before the Holy Ghost arrive in the shape of letters or pistoles from Spain.

* Report of Sept. 4, p. 238.

LETTER XXXVI.

Election and death of the Pope Urban VII.—The same of Gregory XIV.—Innocent IX. and Clement VIII.

THE death of Sixtus V. was a misfortune for Henry IV., for that Pope would, according to his disposition, have come to terms with him much sooner than with Philip. Maisse gives us the following on the election of his successor Urban, 1. 272. b.*—Sept. 7, 1590. The cardinals met in conclave, and already on the following day the elder Cardinal Colonna was all but seated at once in the papal chair. Then, however, the Ursini, as ancient enemies of his house, rose to oppose his election, as did all those who did not wish for a Pope totally dependent on Spain. Hereupon such resistance arose that some of the Cardinals came to blows, and Cardinal Sforza dragged back Colonna from the Papal chair. Several

* I. 242. b.

others were then on the same day proposed, but, on the grounds above related, equally rejected; on which account the Spanish ambassadors sent a courier with a report of the circumstances to the King, and begged for further instructions. While, however, they sought in this manner for the Holy Ghost in Spain, the Cardinals of the party Montalto and of the Grand Duke, who had not yet spoken out, determined to name a Pope. Thus was the Cardinal Marcello Castagni elected on the 15th of this month. He is the son of a Genoese merchant, of good repute and easy to deal with. Some think he will be entirely on the Spanish side, as he was long Nuncio in that country; held the Prince of Spain at his baptism in the name of Pope Gregory XIII., and received many favours from the King. On the other hand, some think that he will, as an Italian, and supported by all the princes of Italy, maintain the dignity and honour of his country, and labour more for the good and repose of Christendom than for the greatness of Spain. The only thing which was found fault with before his elevation, was the great number of his dissolute and restless relations, as well as the supposed enmity between him and the Cardinal Montalto, attributed to the fact, that the deceased Pope had caused some of Marcello's relations to be executed.

Urban VII., however, died as early as September 27, 1590, and was succeeded December 5, by Gregory XIV., of whom Maisse writes:—He is an easy man and of little effect *. The Spaniards have persuaded him, through his physicians, that in order to preserve his health, he must abstain from all business. Thus every thing passes through the hands of his nephew the Cardinal Sfondrate, who is totally dependent on the Spaniard.

His brother, the Count Sfondrate, went, May 12, 1591, with all his officers, who are as brave as himself†, to confession and communion, swore in full church, and pledged himself to God upon his sword, which never came out of its sheath, that he would go to France with 50,000 men, would by the month of October deliver the King of France alive or dead in Rome, and cut to pieces all his adherents. So great is the impudence of this man, who but three months since wanted bread to eat, and has never seen a sword drawn. The following day the Pope was to say mass, bless the sword and banners, bestow the commander's staff, &c.‡ Within ten months, (it proceeds in another page,) the Pope has run through

* *Homme facile et de peu d'effet.* Letter of May 18, 1591. Maisse II. p. 16.

† P. 23, 34, 143.

‡ P. 144.

three millions of gold, no one knows how. He died October 1, 1591, of a disorder so extraordinary and incredible, that one cannot imagine how so weak a body could so long have held out against it*. It began with a fever and disorder in the liver, hereupon he lost blood through the nose, mouth and other apertures of his body, his flesh turned black, and emitted an insupportable stench, boils rose up in various places, and so many lice shewed themselves between the skin and the flesh, that he had not a moment's repose.

All the remedies employed proved useless; they gave him, for instance, gold, pearls and other strengthening things in his drink; they wrapped him in the carcase of a sheep, and of a newly killed horse. The Spaniards gave themselves the greatest trouble to preserve him, but God is mightier than they.

Upon his successor, Innocent IX., Maisse says†, he is a man of instruction, bold and determined, has ordered that no nephew of a Pope shall draw an income of more than 12,000 dollars, and has forbidden his own to come to Rome. The greater number of the Cardinals are devoted to Spain, receive pensions from it, and name the members of all the congrega-

* Report of October 20, 1591. Maisse II. p. 157. Others place his death at October 15.

† Ditto of November 11, 1591. II. 145.

tions, even those which meet upon French affairs. The Pope is minded to redress these evils.

Innocent died in the meantime within two months of his accession, and was succeeded by Clement VIII. His election (according to Maisse) took place * against the will and hope of the Spaniards, for he was not included in their list of names proposed, nay, was excluded from it by name. It was their view either to procure the election of one of their own dependents, or to protract the conclave, but they were outwitted in both projects. The election is here ascribed to the Holy Ghost, for the elected was neither one of those put forward, nor did he make claim to the chair on his own part. He comes of the distinguished Florentine family, the Alodrandini, is 56 years of age, passes for a man of integrity, and obtained the cardinal's hat for his merit. He is by disposition cold, slow of determination, and so avaricious, that the Spaniards will not, it is said, find in him a man who will enter into their plans, and grow very warm on the strength of their promises. Wherever he has had to do, he has passed for an open and incorruptible man. All servants and adherents of your Majesty rejoice in the favourable prospect, which excites, on the contrary, the dissatisfaction

* Maisse II. 224.

of the Spaniards. The Pope's father was banished from Florence, and his goods confiscated; he has not chosen to return there with his children, although the reigning Grand Duke has offered him the restoration of what he had lost.

The above hopes of the French party were not however fulfilled; at least Maisse writes, October 4, 1592:—Every one complains that the King of Spain postpones the welfare and safety of Christendom to his own ambition, and is the cause of all the present disturbances and differences, instead of satisfying himself with what comes to him, and turning his power against the Turks. The like difficulties are raised on the subject of the Pope, who sees so much calamity in Christendom, without troubling himself about it, and who, instead of uniting all sovereigns against the infidels, passes his time in reforming the monks and prostitutes at Rome. He even enters the cells of the former, nay, visits them in their beds, and would fain they should all live as brothers in full equality and community, which however will seem insupportable to them, accustomed as they are to live after their own pleasure, and in all convenience.

LETTER XXXVII.

The Sixteen in Paris.—Correspondence of the Duke of Parma, and the Ambassador Ibarra with Philip II.—Mayenne and Guise.—Bellievre to Jeannin.—States assembly and election of a King.

ALTHOUGH the attitude of the Pope with respect to Henry IV. was in every respect important, yet the contest was to be decided in France, and Philip II. did not blush to employ scandalous means and scandalous agents for his purpose. His restless and vehement ambassador, Diego Ibarra *, lent himself willingly to this, while the Duke of Parma was seldom agreed with them upon it. The correspondence of these two with Philip II. gives a nearer insight into these matters.

The Sixteen † who had appropriated all power in Paris, and had caused the murder of the President

* Renmant, brouillon. Boderie Depesches, 42, p. 233.

† In September 1591, the Sixteen write to Philip, praise him in all ways, &c. Dupuy, Vol. 317.

Brisson*, found in the Spanish ambassador a warm protector and defender. Referring to this, Parma writes, December 18, 1591, to Philip II.† Don Diego and Ibarra went to meet the Duke of Mayenne, and sought to persuade him to be silent as to the murder of Brisson, and not to punish its authors. As, however, the Duke believed that his reputation

* Brisson was arrested in the street by order of the Sixteen, and with two other lawyers hanged from the window of the Council Chamber of the Petit Chatelet. The history of France previous to 1792 presents few acts of greater atrocity. In addition to the members of the Sixteen executed by Mayenne, as mentioned in the text, viz. Louchard, Emmenet, Ameline and Auroux, four other subordinate agents of the crime were executed in 1594, after the re-establishment of Henry IV. Among these was the executioner, J. Rouzeau, who had officiated at the murder, and was condemned rather on the charge of selling the bodies, an hard bargain to the relations, than for the act itself. He had in fact refused as long as possible to officiate. He was also employed to hang the four Liguists in a court of the Louvre, and had an hard struggle with Louchard, who knocked him and his assistant down. The clemency of Henry, from which these wretches were excluded, spared the survivors of the Sixteen. What a picture does the transaction present of Philip's policy. Mayenne acted with spirit, but with great dissimulation, his power being limited, and the Spanish troops keeping him in check. [Tr.]

† Dupuy, Vol. 44.

would suffer by it, the evil increase, and an end be put to all obedience, he made a shew as though he would consider upon it, but on the 4th of December, caused four of the malefactors to be hanged*. The French much approve this resolution, as tending to prevent greater crimes and enormities. Ibarra on the contrary is dissatisfied, and carps at these executions, as falling upon good Catholics and weakening the party.

Parma complains of dissension among the confederates, great disorders, deficiency of power, and the discontent of France at all of it. Ibarra himself writes, nevertheless, two days later, (December 20, 1591,) to Philip. The Spanish garrisons must be strengthened, that the party of the trimmers (Politiques) and Mayenne's French garrisons may not, in case of a rising, overpower the Catholics. Upon the proceedings relating to a new election of a King, he writes, January 12, 1592, Mayenne is of opinion, we may for once break through the Salic law, it being premised that the Infanta Clara Eugenia marry within a year, according to the counsel of the princes, officers of the Crown, and States. To this end, negociations must be entered into with Guise, Nemours, Lorraine and other princes, the governors

* Philippe de Bec Journal Bibl. Roy. 10398. Colbert 3974.

of princes, gentry, and officers. These must be satisfied, rewarded with possessions in France, and money must be applied from other sources in presents. Ibarra estimates the sum required at from six to eight millions, submits all further measures to the King's private consideration, and proceeds:—Mayenne, the princes, and nobles strive to protract every thing, in order to gain the more from your Majesty, nor will Mayenne convene the States, since the election of a King would put an end to his position. The Duke is generally so intent upon his own advantage that he prefers it to every thing else. Between him and his nephew Guise is much jealousy, and little union. I do what I can to reconcile them.

The Princes (despatch of January 14, 1592) propose that no foreign garrisons shall remain in France. (Which certainly was somewhat at variance with Ibarra's proposal for strengthening them.) They still treat the convocation of the States as a subordinate matter, and maintain, that the latter would approve all their resolutions, on which they argue that the resolutions should take precedence of the convocation.

For the removal of many difficulties the Duke of Parma had at last an interview with Guise and his mother, both of whom complained of want of money,

and of Mayenne. At last Mayenne arrived, by appointment, and Parma writes, January 15, 1592, to Philip:—The Duke was more reserved, anxious, and suspicious than formerly, dissatisfied with the amount of the sums he has received from your Majesty, and still more so with the distribution of them as directed by your commands. He complained most warmly of Ibarra, and especially of his having demanded the impunity of the greatest criminals who have raised disturbances on the pretext of religion. Without the severity employed, Mayenne maintains, the city would have been lost. He believes no less firmly, that no good will follow the convocation of the States, unless the princes be previously gained over; a view very different from those he formerly professed, when he wished to frighten us with the States, and with the necessity of their immediate meeting.

If we do not promise something, (writes Parma, January 18, 1592,) as to the money to be paid, the marriage of the Infanta, &c., the whole plan will, as I fear, fall to the ground. A thousand difficulties rise up, and of such a kind, that we must look to overcome them rather by God's help than by human prudence. The fear in all this appears to me to be more justifiable than the hope.

To these extracts from Spanish despatches I ap-

pend what Chancellor Bellievre* afterwards wrote to the President Jeannin. December 13.†

* Pomponne de Bellievre, made Chancellor by Henry IV. in 1599, but removed by the same sovereign to make room for Silleri, in 1605. He had been much employed in negociations of importance by Henry III., and to his failure in the commission entrusted to him to dissuade Guise from entering Paris in 1588, many have attributed the days of the barricades. [Tr.]

† Bibl. Roy. MSS. Vol. 9036, p. 5. Mem. sur le regne de Henri IV.

Pierre Jeannin, the son of a tanner of Autun, raised himself by his talents to the presidentship of the council of Burgundy, from which he is usually designated by the title of the President Jeannin.—A zealous Catholic, and for some time in the confidence of the Liguists, he yet distinguished himself by saving the Protestants of Burgundy from the extension to that province of the horrors of the Paris massacre of St. Bartholomew. His acquaintance with the violent designs of the Guises, and his similar knowledge of the projects of Spain, gained by a mission to that country with which he was entrusted by the Liguists, made him a zealous opponent of the measures he was sent there to support. He yet contrived to unite real patriotism with fidelity to his party, and remained attached to the Ligue long after its affairs began to be desperate. Henry IV. upon his triumph, thought it worth while to attach such a man to his service, and fully succeeded. Jeannin enjoyed his confidence and friendship to an extent which sometimes excited the jealousy of Sully. His attachment to his religion did not prevent him from taking a share in preparing the measure

Why should we admit the Spaniard? He who calls to his aid a stronger than himself becomes his slave, and for my part I hold the loss of freedom for the greatest calamity upon earth. As to what concerns the choice of a king by the States, upon which the Liguists so much rely, I think their party will weaken itself by that measure, since no one will obey a person whom he has before looked upon as his equal. Out of such jealousy so much dissension may arise, that they will, perhaps, curse the hour when they first spoke of such an election. I say still further, instead of withdrawing thereby the nobility from King Henry, these will only attach themselves to him all the faster, and prize his service the higher. The sufferings of France are so great that instead of perpetuating the war by such an election, the true interest of the Ligue, of Spain, and the Pope, consists in making a good peace with Henry IV.

of the edict of Nantes. After the murder of Henry, he was entrusted by Mary of Medicis with the administration of the finances. Though much thwarted by her Italian advisers, and once removed by the intrigues of the Marechale D'Ancre, he received his post and retained it till his death in 1622. When Henry IV. first made his advances to this honest opponent, Jeannin expressed his surprise at the notice thus taken of a "vieux Ligueur." Henry replied, "J'ai toujours couru apres les gens de bien et je m'en suis bien trouvé." [Tr.]

LETTER XXXVIII.

States assembly of 1593.—Circular of Mayenne.—Election.—Upon the deliberations and opposed votes.—Feria and the Legate.—Negociations with Henry IV.—Delays and complaints.—Proposals of the Spaniards.—Approximation between the Parliament and the Princes.—The Infanta.—The Salic law.—New proposals of the Spaniards.—The armistice.—The Parliament for the Salic law.—Contentions.—Henry IV.'s conversion.—New form of oath.—Termination of the States assembly.—Boucher's preaching.—Elizabeth to Henry IV. on his change of religion.—Feria to Parma.—Henry IV. to Luxembourg and Montmorency.—Peace, war, relations with the Parliaments.—Hughenots.—Elizabeth, Rome.—Sultan Amurath to Henry IV.

THE convocation of the States wished for by some, feared by others, was no longer to be avoided. Its history is so remarkable, partly on its own account, partly with reference to what happened in later times, that it will not be unwelcome to you, if I communicate something in detail to you on the sub-

ject. The richest information is afforded by the records of the proceedings and protocols which have hitherto by no means been sufficiently made use of*.

January 12, 1593. The Duke of Mayenne issued a summons for the election, to the end that the Convention might preserve the holy religion, and liberate the kingdom from all calamities and sufferings. In pursuance of this, the provost of the merchants and the Echevins of Paris held a general assembly in the great hall of the Hotel de Ville. The councils of the quarters and four delegates from each quarter, were taken into consultation, viz.—two royal officers and two citizens of note from each,—the high courts of justice, and colleges were also convened, the clergy, and the communes, in order to proceed and choose their deputies by majority of voices.

The proceeding is not further particularized. For Paris they had chosen six of the clergy, two of the nobility, eleven of the Parliament and the tiers état. In the city, council objections were raised to these

* Procès verbal des propositions et deliberations du tiers état en l'assemblée tenue à Paris sous le nom des trois états. 1593, Bibl. Roy. MSS. 280. 2 vols. folio. Procès verbal du Clergé, Dupuy, 582. Do. de la noblesse. Dupuy, 650. Sur les états generaux, Dupuy, 661.

elections as having taken place during the troubles*. The Sixteen and their friends defended themselves, and the Spanish minister declared, that in case of their being annulled, he would withdraw the Spanish forces. Upon this they left the first elected persons in their places, but held a second and a third election which weakened the effect of the former.

However little particular this account may be, it is plain from it that many things, such as were now for the first time subjects of question, for example, the number of deputies, were not at that time positively arranged.

There appeared in the assembly 47 of the clergy, 26 of the nobility, and 48 of the tiers état. The number of the deputies was thus very small. From many provinces no deputy, or one for only one of the orders appeared, and no rule was laid down for the regulation of the proportions between the orders.

On the 26th January, Mayenne opened the assembly at a moment when the elections in many districts were not terminated, when no one was present on the part of the nobles of Paris, and no veri-

* Dupuy 661. February 17, the provost of the merchants with the Echevins gave a great feast to all the deputies of the tiers état. Laboureur in Dupuy, 582.

fication of the powers had taken place. It was not till even four weeks later, on February 29, that 89 of the deputies had taken their seats.

The deputies of the three orders assembled for general business in one room, for particular discussions; each order had its separate locality. There were usually three sittings in the week. The Legate, Philip Sega, was allowed entrance for the purpose of blessing the proceedings, but he was denied a voice for consultation or decision. The Legate spoke Latin. Mayenne answered in French.

The Cardinal Pellevé* was chosen president of the clerical order, as also the Archbishop of Lyons, Espinal; De La Nau and Deperry, presidents of the nobility; L'Huillier, provost of the merchants in Paris, as president of the tiers état. It was settled that all propositions made in one chamber should be communicated to the others, in order, where possible, that they might be discussed contemporaneously. No

* A turbulent Ligueur, raised by Henry II. to the bishoprick of Amiens, and made Cardinal by Pius V. in 1560, in reward for his opposition to the liberties of the Gallican church at the Council of Trent. He was one of twenty-five cardinals who subscribed to the bull of Sixtus V., by which the King of Navarre and the Prince of Condé were excommunicated. He was chief of the Council of the Ligue. [Tr.]

deputy was to absent himself without permission of the three chambers.

One of the most important and most contested questions related to the manner and right of voting. Whether, namely, they should vote according to provinces or offices, (bailliages,) and whether an office could be admitted to represent a province when the deputies of the other offices were not included. March 10th. The clergy resolved, that a bailliage represented the province in the default of the others. Deputies of the nobles, dissatisfied with this, appeared in the assembly of the third estate, and said, that in their chamber was a single nobleman from one province who claimed to vote for that whole province, in which were several bailliages *. The matter was the more discussed (says our reporter) as the numerous deputies of the Isle of France and Paris, as the seven bailliages of Burgundy, had only one voice. It was settled, at last, they should vote by provinces, which they would adhere to constantly in things of obvious decision, until they should come to things of consequence.

This obscure narration of Laboureur derives some, but not full, elucidation from other protocols of the

* Laboureur député du tiers état de ce qui c'est passé aux états de 1593. Dupuy, 582.

sittings of the third estate. The question whether the voice of one deputy of a province should have as much weight as the voice of a province with six or seven bailliages, has remained undecided and postponed to another occasion. Some remarked that, if settled in the affirmative, all the deputies of a province but one might go home and save their time and money. It was at last determined, March 12, the old mode of deliberation should be adhered to ; whereupon Monsieur Vincent, deputy of the countship and the bailliage of Auxerre, said: "I am come here for this bailliage, and sit here at great expense. Should my voice not pass for so much as the voices of the deputies from any other province, nothing remains for me but to take myself home again." In like manner the deputies of the province of Burgundy declared themselves. It is apparent from this that they would only grant one voice to an entire province.

Three days later the nobles, deputies from Burgundy, mooted the same question. Some wished to refer it for decision to Mayenne and his council ; others pronounced it nowise necessary to bring it before him. As at last the deputies of Burgundy wished to retire, it was determined to make representation to them and move them ; to abstain from their proposed measure till more deputies should arrive, or to be content that the clergy should be

consulted upon it. They answered: "We must insist on our first objection, and cannot accept for judges those who are parties concerned. Neither is it reasonable, that the deputies of a town or bailliage should have as great a voice as the deputies of an entire province, which includes many bailliages."

In spite of these *pour parlers* no resolution was arrived at, and, as late as June 28, Monsieur Langlois represented, that, before any further deliberations should take place, this question must be settled. We only find this much; that two opposed voices for one bailliage were not counted, and that they settled, that what was adopted by two orders should pass for all three.

Meanwhile arrived a new Spanish plenipotentiary, the Duke of Feria, and he was welcomed by a deputation of the three orders. March 15, the Bishop of Senlis spoke in French, Feria replied in Spanish, dwelling on the immortal glory which they would acquire by their defence of religion, on Philip's friendship, and his desire to treat with them confidentially. They allowed that he should be heard in a general assembly of the three orders, and that he should be replied to in French. A proposal of the nobles and clergy that the sovereign courts should be invited thereto, was found inexpedient by the third estate. It was rejoined, that the courts

had been admitted at the reception of the Legate, and that, if this were now omitted, both they and Feria would be offended. As the third estate insisted on their objection, it was determined, on the 1st of April, that the courts should be invited, not by the orders, but by Mayenne and his council, providing it appeared to them advisable.

April 2. Feria was received by twelve deputies of the three orders in the middle of the great staircase. He spoke and the Cardinal Pellevé answered in Latin. Philip, in his letters, glorified himself for the disinterested services he had rendered to the French, and declared distinctly ; the States ought not to separate without having chosen a Catholic king, as the time demanded.

Already, long before, Jan. 27, the Catholics of the King's party had forwarded proposals for an understanding and union to the States, upon which the Cardinal Pellevé proposed, that a copy should be sent to the Sorbonne to be examined as to whether there was any heresy in the articles. That also ten or twelve eminent persons, doctors in theology, and in both codes, should be named to institute inquiries against those who should speak against religion. The States would proceed according to the results, and the people must be kept in obedience. This inquisition appears, however, not to have come into

activity; and as little could they carry through the unconditional acceptance of the articles of the Council of Trent, many of them being in contravention of the royal authority, the laws, decisions of parliament, &c. Finally, the propositions of the clergy, as to the mode and fashion after which they should (or rather should not) negotiate with Henry IV., found so little assent from the third estate, that the King was able to draw favourable conclusions as to the future, and took the opportunity to exhibit his claims in a very substantial shape.

With this the spiritual chamber was very ill content, so that a protocol of the sitting of the third estate, May 17, runs: It is represented, that the Cardinal Pellevé * is accustomed to treat the deputies sent to the clergy, against all reason and proper respect, with hard language, which must cease; as, otherwise, we will not for the future send any more deputies thither. The clergy replied, the Cardinal was old, and the members of their chamber tolerated him on account of his years and dignity,

* Yet the Cardinal Pellevé, at an earlier stage of the proceedings, had been supposed to favour the violent and factious party in the third estate, in opposing the admission of the sovereign courts, which was advocated then, and, as will be seen afterwards, by Mayenne. *Etoile Journal du regne d' Henri IV.* Vol. i. p. 283.

although they often found his manners and conduct very inconvenient. The third estate would do well to act with the same forbearance, that the Cardinal had taken his fold like camlet (*son pli*).

Heavier were the complaints which the third estate issued of the unprofitable loss of time, and that nothing was done. Protocol of May 25. The deputies suffer extremely from the slowness with which the public affairs are carried on. It is a scandal, that in four months, no affair has been transacted, and no alleviation been devised for the sufferings of the provinces, while the expenses of their useless stay at Paris are enormous. This causes such disgust, that almost all would have returned home, if all Christendom did not expect so much, with God's help, from this assembly. Just reproach would, however, attach to those who seek to dissolve the assembly, not to those who practise patience, and bear with the complaints of their provinces.

These remonstrances, and similar ones which proceeded from the nobles' chamber, at last induced the Duke of Mayenne to lay before them the Spanish proposals, with the remark, that he had various grounds for postponing this communication. Feria's declaration ran: Philip II. will give money, aid, troops, &c., on condition that the Infanta shall be incontinently proclaimed Queen.

Each chamber deliberated for itself on this proposition; and several persons, in the hope of bringing it more easily to bear, hit upon the idea, of allowing the sovereign courts to take part in the deliberations with a deciding vote. Hereupon it was answered, particularly by the third estate, France has been ever administered by three members and three estates, nor has ever chosen to adjoin a fourth, and thus create a monstrosity. We should not, on account of the misery of the present century, inflict injury on our rights and liberties; for, although our state presents a mangled aspect, we should bestir ourselves to restore it as far as possible to its ancient complexion and former splendour, in order to shew our neighbours that we, despite of all our misery and all our degradation, yet have not buried the fundamental laws of the kingdom, deprived of which, we no longer deserve the name of Frenchmen.

Mayenne replied: Under the great importance of the matter on account of which the assembly is convened, I have thought it useful and reasonable to call together equally the parliaments, which, by their administration of the law, enjoy so much consideration in the country. As to what concerns the forms of their adjunction and their power of objection, I cannot take upon me to decide, it being by no means

within my functions to do so, but will consult my council. This consultation took place, and the President, Jeannin, said, the parliaments are called in to this important deliberation upon no slender or defective grounds. They represent, through their administration of the law, the King, who never dies; they enjoy great consideration in the realm, and if their counsel has heretofore been called for upon the reform of public justice, then with equal right do they act in the present matter. Since these high authorities have thus formed ever a part of the state, we should be peculiarly, at this moment, ill advised to raise unreasonable difficulties, when we must wish that all men of sense and integrity were collected, in order to labour with us on this thorny occasion. The parliaments have, moreover, been convened in the year 1558, and have voted before the third estate.

It was replied that the Assembly of that year was so little numerous, that it could hardly be called a States' Assembly. The president of the parliament of that day, St. André, also began his speech with thanks to the King, for having suffered them to vote separately, in order to shew that it was something quite extraordinary. To cause the third estate to come after the Parliament, was to separate and cut

loose one of the bodies of the States of the realm, for which reasons they besought the Duke to find some other solution of the difficulty.

To these complaints others were appended upon the fruitless protraction of the proceedings, through which, most of the deputies were reduced to such necessities, that they had no longer the means of subsistence. Jeannin, and the other members of the Duke's council now started a proposition, that Mayenne should, after the three orders had voted, consult the parliament and the council, not for the purpose of bringing a new deciding voice to bear, but only to hear their advice. Although this was agreed to, the plan of forming a fourth chamber was still entertained, only that it should be formed with princes, dukes, &c. selected by Mayenne *. The clergy voted, that the princes could not form a separate body, but might take their places in the nobles' chamber with deliberating voices. The nobles were of opinion that persons chosen by Mayenne should be associated with the different orders, spiritual persons with the clergy, princes with the nobles, members of the parliaments with the third estate.

Mayenne shewed himself dissatisfied with these discussions, and repeated that a convocation of all

* Noblesse, Mai 24, Clergé, Mai 30.

princes, prelates, crown officers, governors, parliaments, &c. appeared to him advisable at this juncture, since it was by no means the only object to raise objections and complaints, for which the three orders, as usually convened, were quite sufficient. He then proceeded, in the sitting of June 1. "I willingly set my life to hazard for so great a concern, as I can bequeath no greater honour to my posterity than by so doing, nor find a more honourable grave. My conscience is pure, so that no reproach can be thrown out or substantiated against my conduct secret or open, that I have ever done an act or entertained a proposition which contained any thing tending to lower or prejudice the state. Having once been honoured so far as to be appointed General Lieutenant of the realm, I shall know how to maintain my dignity, even at the peril of my life. Herein the princes of my house have the same interest, and have like myself staked on it their lives and properties. In the field they have been honoured with the highest commands, because they have been the first in every danger; and now when we are talking of terminating our dissensions and party differences, rank and situation are refused them, in an insupportable fashion.

"I also wish, that the consultations may come to an end, and the delay is no fault of mine. I lament the pressure upon the deputies, but find myself in my

own person in equal and greater need: I shall, however, with help of my friends seek to procure some alleviation."

June 11. The Spanish ambassadors sought to establish more certainly the claims of the Infanta; but mutual jealousy, hope of Henry's conversion, &c. excited in many bosoms the wish to gain time, or to lose it, and their counsel ran:—They must first communicate with the other orders, hear the councils, prepare themselves for receiving the Holy Spirit, take the Sacrament, order processions, &c. Finally, it was determined, that previous to any acknowledgement of the Infanta's claim, Feria should ask the King of Spain, whether he were minded to marry her to a French prince. Yet can such a declaration be the foundation of no pre-judgment, nor can it be concluded that we must therefore necessarily declare the Infanta Queen. It remains on the contrary open to us to proceed to the choice of a King, and to be guided by circumstances in the proceeding.

The proposal for imparting all this to the Legate passed; but only on the condition that it should not take place for the purpose of following his counsel, in anything in which his advice might differ from that of the third estate. In order somewhat to satisfy the Legate, Mayenne caused 8000 dollars to be secured to him; as, however, this payment was long delayed, they

caused the Duke to be so beset by some of the deputies, that he exclaimed, “do you mean to take me by the throat?” “No,” answered a deputy, “but make over your treasurer to my hands, and I will satisfy the States and chastise the knaves.”

The nobles declared at the same time that, if the deliberations should not be over in eight days, they would return home.

In this state of things, the Spaniards could no longer persevere in their wonted system of delay. On the contrary, one of their embassy, Taxis, appeared as early as June 13 in the assembly, and said, “Messieurs, we expected at your hands a very different answer from that which we yesterday received. If our first proposal displeased, you might well have suggested another. For, what use is it to propose to us questions about a lady, when you will not hear of any female, and refuse to admit of any departure from the Salic law? Out of this springs a pernicious waste of time, the danger for religion increases daily as long as no Catholic King is forthcoming, and the Prince of Bearn will, if you longer delay, deprive you of the means of remedy. I therefore propose, that you should adhere to the Salic law, by nominating the Archduke Ernest of Austria as King, he receiving the hand of the Infanta. He is a zealous Catholic, has already brought back numberless here-

ties to the bosom of the Church, loves rectitude and upright people, knows many languages, speaks, or at least understands French, takes pains to advance himself therein, and knows how so to conduct himself that I am satisfied he will in a short time become as good a Frenchman as any of yourselves. He can command the aid of his relations, will perhaps be Emperor, is heir to the Austrian States, and will put an end to all disputes with Germany. You will tell me, he was not born in France, and this I grant, but it is not contrary to your laws or customs to have a German King. Kings have reigned in France who came from beyond the frontier, and in the histories written by French authors themselves, you will find that the Archduke by his early origin is a Frenchman, and that through Mary of Burgundy he possesses a good and fair portion of that province. It is, moreover, nothing new that the States, on great emergencies, should avail themselves of foreign kings, and find their profit in so doing. It will also appear on careful enquiry, that, for a State distracted with disunion, party and heresy, (as France is,) nothing can be more advantageous, than to place at its head a prince altogether unfettered and free from passion, who will employ, esteem, and promote every man according to his virtues and deserts, and make use

concession which can injure religion or the public good.

Instead of bringing this proposal expressly into discussion the next day, the nobles pressed for an armistice with the Catholics of the King's party ; the clergy opposed it, and the third estate submitted their decision privately to the Duke of Mayenne. He answered, " I may do nothing contrary to your views, I cannot, however, carry on the war with advantage, and am just as little inclined to speak of an armistice, so soon as I am provided with the means of war." Thus one body banded the final determination to another, until the third estate declared distinctly for the armistice, and the clergy required Mayenne to state his reasons. The Duke declined, but declared that if each of the orders would depute to him three or four of their body, he would expose his reasons. This, rejoined the third estate, was not necessary, they relied upon him. Now, however, the Legate raised difficulties, and maintained that the Spaniards must be heard upon it, which put the Duke into such a passion, that he said, " When I accepted my post, I possessed from 3 to 400,000 dollars. I have now two millions of debt, and deserve regard as well as another, when the question is raised of what is to be done." The Legate, two

orders, and the council then coalesced, and the armistice was determined upon.

Meanwhile, Feria had pressed for an answer, but none came, the parties being occupied with other matters. At last, June 18, the clergy deferred the whole matter to the Duke and the Princes. The nobles declared it was impossible to occupy themselves on two subjects at once, and that the question of the armistice must take precedence. The third estate finally did nothing further than to request the Duke and the Princes to give their opinion upon the proposals of the clergy. Mayenne answered, June 19, the matter was of great importance, and well deserving that—they should think upon it! Later, he added, that a report was spread in the city of a declaration of the Spanish ambassador, to the effect, that if a French prince were chosen, Philip would refuse him the hand of the Infanta. Hereupon, the orders took courage, and answered Feria;—he must excuse them if they did not choose the archduke, for that choice would be at variance with the laws of France, and exceed their powers; he was a foreigner, &c.

The princes were much satisfied with this declaration, but as it now came to the choice of another, many deputies maintained, that neither did their powers extend so far, and it was another thing

merely to enquire whether the Infanta were Queen by right or not. In this position of affairs, Taxis opened to the States, (June 21st,) that if they would accept out of the French Princes, one, to be designated by Philip, he would give him his daughter forthwith, afford succours, &c.

The States came to no immediate decision upon this proposal, other than that they would by deputies, consult Mayenne and the princes upon it. June 22. After this had been done, they commissioned some of their members to treat with Feria after the following instruction. June 27. The proposal is deemed uncivil, (incivil,) and it seems dangerous to pledge a kingdom on the mere hope of a contingent marriage. We could more easily, after the marriage, or at the moment of its completion, declare the two parties King and Queen. In the reversed case we should be receiving an uncertain King and an uncertain Queen, and thereby be breaking through the Salic law, engraved in all French bosoms. Nor is it possible that the States should be content to receive a ruler from Philip. He may seek out a son-in-law where it pleases him, but to establish a king depends upon our might and power; in no respect on that of a foreign prince.

In opposition to all this, the Spaniards sought to establish—that it would be an absurdity to conclude

a marriage for the Infanta before the choice of a King, and in the non-existence of a kingdom. Upon which the States deputies proposed, that Mayenne and the other princes might arrange the marriage in Spain, where, in that case, after full agreement, Clara Eugenia and her husband might be proclaimed King and Queen. The Spaniards believed their powers insufficient to authorize their acceptance of this proposal, which also displeased the Duke and his council. The latter opened,—that it would be advisable, without speaking further of the marriage or kingdom, to treat upon the conditions and other points of the subject, by which the Spaniards would be suddenly thrown back upon the final result of the whole question. They appeared, June 28, once more in the States assembly, in order to unfold their views and reasons. They prayed for a favourable answer, and promised in that case their best exertions for favourable marriage conditions, &c. Before we fulfil this promise, (said they,) we cannot be refused what in the nature of things is our due, otherwise we should be treating for the sale of a house, without knowing whether there be any one to buy. To treat of the conditions of a marriage, before it is generally settled, would be to put the plough before the oxen, and a frivolous thing. Within four hours after the States shall have come to a decision, we

will enter into the subject of conditions, and give our answers.

The States did not deliberate upon these representations, but sent deputies to Mayenne, to listen and report, without coming to a decision. July 2nd. Mayenne with the princes proposed to give an answer to the Spaniards containing, among other things, the following: The establishment of a new kingdom at this moment appears to the States ill-timed and dangerous for the State and for religion; since we are no wise sufficiently provided with troops and materials for war. Yet we persist in our formerly declared resolution to satisfy the King of Spain as far as possible, with just and reasonable conditions. We are even ready to proceed further, as soon as we have an army at our back, by aid of which our counsels and resolutions may be maintained and carried into effect. We, therefore, most respectfully beg your Catholic Majesty to muster and advance that force which it is intended to bring to our aid, and to be pleased to support the state of public affairs. The arrival of such a force is so much the more essential, since the enemy has it otherwise in his power to make fresh progress, and a greater mischance may befall us. This answer was received July 4, and transmitted to the Duke of Feria. Some provinces pressed for this addition: that all this was

only on condition that the States were not pledged by it, but retained full liberty to vote and resolve for the interests of the State and of religion, according to circumstances. The majority, however, considered the above answer sufficient without the addition.

July 5th. The Spaniards answered: If it be determined not to nominate a King, for the prevention of the danger accruing from the Prince of Bearne, for the security of religion, and the extrication of the State from its miseries, then all the rest is cast upon the waters. Yet would they, till further orders from their sovereign, not cease to afford their assistance. 1st. As long as no armistice were concluded. 2nd. If the decision of the parliaments were cancelled, which came too near their own dignity.

Upon this decision for the maintenance of the Salic law, I have found the following in an unprinted record *:—June 23. Monsieur de Marillac made the first proposal in the *Chambre des Enquetes* to propose to the great chamber a meeting of all the chambers, to oppose the repeal of the Salic law. This motion struck the majority with astonishment, not as disapproving it, but partly from fear, (for it was beyond doubt, a matter of peril to their lives,)

* Relation de ce qui se passa sur la manutention de la loi Salique. Dupuy 548.

partly from their opinion that it would answer no purpose. Not terrified by their first rejection, Marillac insisted on his views, and added; "You are all, as officers of the crown, bound in duty to do something in a matter of such concern, you must at all events somehow evince to posterity, that you never approved that which is about to be done by violence."

After repeating this foundation of his argument, he procured the transmission of the suggested message to the head chamber of the parliament, which received on the 25th an instruction from Mayenne, to proceed no further in the affair. But the chamber, not conceiving him justified in this instruction, and not receiving from him further advices, renewed its deliberations on the 28th. The members voted freely enough, but rather with reserve than with warmth and excitement, it being at that time a proof of great courage to speak what one thought, even tamely.—At last they came to the wished-for decision, the President Le Maistre betook himself at the head of several deputies to Mayenne, and told him: the parliament has cancelled and does cancel that which has taken place, or is taking place, in contravention of the Salic law. Mayenne shewed great astonishment, and said, among other things: You should not have come to a resolution of such

importance without conference with myself. Subsequent attempts of the Duke to alter the determination of the President and the council, were fruitless, although very warm language passed between them. He then wished to annul the decision, but abandoned his purpose, on finding that many persons of note supported it, and that the members of the parliaments, their zeal once raised, had sworn rather to lose their lives than shrink from their resolution.

In the Assembly little or nothing was done at this time. July 23, however, the deputies of the three orders sent a message to Mayenne that they were wearied out, and begged him to allow of their departure to their homes. The President of the nobles' chamber had, as also several others, made their escape without question or leave taking. The Cardinal Pellevé, out of discontent, determined to do the same, the Legate had already left the city, and the clergy began to discuss whether they were not obliged to follow him as head of their order. Huillier, president of the third estate, remarked on the contrary, that the Assembly had only to treat of temporal matters, and recognized no head but the King, or in this case the Duke. The deputies of the clergy answered to this in sharp language, that the third estate might confine itself to temporal matters to the exclusion of

spiritual, that it acted contrary to the decisions of the Council of Trent, was introducing schism in the church through the resolutions of the parliament, &c. &c.

As the controversies increased, many deputies of the third estate left their chamber; others laid their complaints before Mayenne, who answered, Whoever wished to accompany the Legate might go. He would find means to satisfy every one. The following day, July 24, Mayenne issued the following proposals.

1. To make no election of a King.
2. To accept the armistice proposed by the other party.
3. Not be angry and impatient at their long detention, inasmuch as he would take all pains to support the deputies and procure the defrayment of their expenses.
4. To effect a reconciliation of all differences, as every dissension was in the highest degree pernicious.

The clergy hereupon again set itself in opposition to the armistice, while the nobles and the third estate approved it. All were wearied out, and demanded that the States Assembly should be dissolved, or interrupted, or transferred to another place, or new members elected, &c.

Thus, on the 27th, universal discontent and disunion broke out *, but the following day Henry IV. came over to the Catholic religion in the presence of the Cardinal of Bourbon, one archbishop, ten bishops, many abbots, deans, and doctors, &c. By this a great change took place to his advantage, although the clergy complained, July 30, to the third estate:—

It is now necessary, if ever, to persist in resisting heresy, when one beholds an open hypocrisy, or rather a mummerly and juggle carried on against the honour of God, all piety and religion. On this account we pray, 1st, that the articles of the Council of Trent may be accepted. 2d. That the Legate may be moved to remain in Paris. The second point was conceded, but with respect to the first, a courteous answer, but one so conditional and evasive was returned, that nothing came of it. The armistice was, on the contrary, published on the 1st of August. On the 2nd, nearly all the deputies of the third estate took their departure, and the nobles declared they would depart even if permission were refused them. In this emergency, Mayenne, on the following day, demanded that all should take a new oath, grounded in substance on the former oath of union. It bound them further to do nothing

* Philippe de Bec Journal.

against religion, or for heretics, not to absent themselves without Mayenne's permission, and either to return when and whither he should choose, or to acknowledge the acts of those who should be present.

After long contest and much alteration they agreed upon a new form of oath, August 4 and 5. This, however, appearing to the partizans of Henry IV. insulting to them, and fear arising that it might therefore lead to a rupture of the armistice, Mayenne found himself compelled, in his own person, to propose a third form, which was again partially altered. With this the clergy shewed themselves highly dissatisfied, and declared, If the King of Navarre were a good Catholic, he might have sworn to the first oath. Mayenne hereupon devised a fourth formulary, which was accepted, in which, however, nothing was mentioned of the union, the Council of Trent, &c.

Meanwhile the majority of the deputies had absented themselves, and at the sittings little else occurred than the hearing mass, or ineffectual discussions upon relieving the wretched people who were miserably tyrannized over by the governors and officers.

The last protocol of the sittings of the third estate is of December 2, 1593, in which the envoys from the clergy complain that the Assembly is everywhere despised in Paris, and that no help is to be got for it.

To this was added the intelligence that Mayenne intended leaving the city, upon which they addressed the Legate, the Duke of Feria and Mayenne, to learn what was to become of them, and how they might escape utterly sinking under need and weakness. We do not observe that this complaint had any result, the assembly rather appears to have come to an end without any formal decision.

In any case all the expectations had failed, which the Spaniards and zealous Liguists had founded upon this assembly. They did not, however, forego their plans, but sought especially to inflame the people through the clergy, such as Boucher and his like. The following passages are characteristic of the language and sermons of Boucher*. It is nothing new in the church to conclude a bond or ligue; the saints have done as much. St. Michael, for example, in heaven against the confederacy of Lucifer and his angels, and on earth it is of godly right, since God said to the serpent, "I will put enmity between you and the woman, and between her seed and your seed." The heretics are the seed of the devil, the Catholics the seed of the Church, and pledged to God to unite against the others. In like manner the people of God formed a ligue to

* *Fragmens des discours de Boucher, Dupuy, 559.*

root out the Canaanites. After Boucher had adduced sundry and many other examples, he went on. That which took effect in our time in 1584 and 1585, has lasted on till now, and is in substance still the old ligue, whereby it all comes to this, whether you will pleasure the King to the prejudice of the church and your souls. The power of the Pope is unlimited, and in comparison with it every privilege and liberty is nothing. He alone was not subject to the Pope's ban who was altogether without sin. We now fight against a deceitful persecutor, a flattering enemy, an Antichrist, who does not smite the back, but tickles the belly, who does not chastise that he may make live, but enriches to kill, does not take prisoner in order to set free, but receives into his court, that he may enchain; does not strike off the hand with the sword, but kills the soul with gold; does not threaten openly with fire, but lights it in secret, does not fight to be conquered, but flatters in order to reign; confesses Christ to deny him, represses the heretics that there may be no more believers, does honour to priests, to humble the bishops, builds churches to overturn religion.

Declamations of this description may not have failed to produce their effect with the multitude, but assuredly made less personal impression upon Henry, than the letter which Queen Elizabeth wrote to him

upon his conversion*. I communicate it in its own language, on account of its characteristic originality.

Ha quelles douleurs, quels regrets et gémissements je sentis en mon âme par le son de telles nouvelles que l'ambassadeur Morlas m'a apportées. Mon Dieu, est il possible, qu' aucun mondain respect dut effacer la terreur dont la crainte divine menace ? Pouvons nous par raison attendre une bonne suite d'un acte si inique ? Celui qui vous a maintenu et conservé pouvez vous imaginer qu' il vous laisse seul dans un si grand besoin ? Oh qu'il est dangereux de mal faire, pour en esperer du bien. Encore veux je croire que plus saine inspiration vous adviendra ; cependant je ne cesserai de vous mettre au premier rang de mes devotions a ce que les mains d'Esau ne gatent les benedictions de Jacob. Et ou vous me promettez toute amitié et fidelité, je confesse l'avoir chèrement mérité et conservée, et ne m'en departirai, pourvu que ne changiez de peur, autrement ne vous serai que sœur bastarde. Car j'aimerais toujours mieux le naturel que l'adoptif, comme Dieu le connaît, lequel vous guide en droit chemin de mieux sentir. Votre trez assurée sœur, celle suis a la vielle mode, avec la nouvelle je n'en ai que faire. Elizabeth.

* Instructions de Morlas, Ambassadeur en Angleterre, Dupuy, 121. The copy in Rapin vi. 445, strays from the expression, and is much modernized.

That Henry and Elizabeth in spite of passing controversies remained upon good terms, I shall hereafter bring fresh proofs to shew. A letter may also find its place here to shew the turn which the relations of France to Spain took at this period. August 27, 1594, the Duke of Feria writes to the Duke of Parma*:—I despair of a good result. For on the one hand, I am of opinion that we should keep up the party divisions as well as our own intelligences in France, and must spare no means to increase the reputation of our power; if, however, the man who there conducts affairs (Mayenne) do not throw himself entirely into the arms of his majesty, and take a firm resolution in the matter, in which we can trust to none but him, it is not probable that events can turn out favourably for us. For I must say, that what he has hitherto done, has been more dangerous for religion, than all that any other has undertaken for its ruin. He never thought on any thing but his personal advantage, without troubling himself for the public good; on this account he has lost all confidence, and is contemned even by the trimmers and other false Catholics: the utmost they hope from him is, that he will soon procure them peace. The true Catholics hold him

* Dupuy, Vol. 88, p. 240.

for an enemy, who betrayed them, after having been raised by them so high that nothing but the name of King was wanting to him ; who stained his hands, under pretence of justice, with the blood of those who had worked mainly for his greatness, and were the most zealous Catholics in all France.

That he dissolved the Assembly of the States, produced nothing but advantage to the enemy, and was quite contrary to the wishes and will of his majesty. A part of the deputies had, it is true, absented themselves without leave ; as this, however, did not suffice for the execution of his projects, he resolved to leave Paris in its old and well known condition, and neither the prayers of the Legate, nor mine, nor those of the States, who all of us represented to him the danger thence arising, could bring him back from this determination.

He conducted the war ill for its purpose, maltreated the officers, and shewed hostility to Spain. He has no respect to his oaths, and has said to me, —in state affairs we must trouble ourselves little about oaths and promises. When times alter, resolutions alter too, and it is not now a time to look back to what I once said to the King of Spain through Monsieur de Montpensier. Another time, when we were contesting this point at La Fere, he said : “ It is impossible to be at once a good Chris-

tian and a good statesman, and praised the wisdom and conduct of Pope Alexander VI., whom all good Catholics look upon as a prodigy of depravity. Since then, views such as these have taken root in him, inasmuch as he has an evil conscience towards God, is ungrateful to his majesty, and lives in bad contention with his own relations, I do not know how we can hope for an improvement of our circumstances.

The war against Spain, the position with relation to the Parliaments and the Pope, the demands of Elizabeth, disturbed meanwhile Henry IV., despite all his progress, to an extent which will be shewn by the following hitherto undiscovered passages. March 19, 1597, he wrote from Montdidier to the Constable Montmorency*: I have received your letter of the 17th, and thank you for the trouble which you have given yourself since your departure to help me under my increased difficulties. For you know, my cousin, that without bread, artillery or munitions of war, it is difficult to keep on foot and put in activity an army. I am reduced so far, and am encamped, moreover, in a country so depressed and bowed to the ground, that even those are moved to compassion who possess the least of

* Bibl. Roy. MSS. Vol. 9044.

that feeling, &c. I have as yet returned no answer to the fine declamations of the Parliament and the first President, since it seems to me that my actions will open their eyes, and ought to confute those who turn simply to me on account of the present calamities. They would not find themselves so comfortable, if I had chosen to delay the proceedings till the opening of the Council, and had been supported by none but themselves. I complain less on behalf of the pretenders and fools, than of the leaders who are or ought to be better acquainted with the state of affairs, and have allowed themselves to go so far as they have. For such tumultuary counsels appear unworthy of judges, who are placed where they are to chastise disturbance and revolt, but who occasion much more scandal than edification by their conduct. I am convinced that you have not neglected to admonish them ; so soon as I form a nearer judgement of their connection and common object, I will write what occurs to me on the matter. For the present it is well, my cousin, that the Parliament should learn through you that I am not content with what has passed, and would fain learn how to bring back to their duty towards myself, to the right path, and to their duty and obedience, those who have fallen away from them through fear of danger or mischance.

Some months later, April 25, 1597, Henry IV. writes to his ambassador, Luxemburgh, at Rome*, laments his misfortunes in the field, (Amiens had been taken by the Spaniards,) on account that his neighbours might make advantage of this necessity. Elizabeth herself, he proceeds, demands that I should restore Calais to her before she will lend me her assistance. My reformed subjects, moreover, shew themselves surlier than of old, have seized my money in the places which are in their hands, and would fain compel me to yield them things which I consider unreasonable. There are, moreover, many people in this kingdom whose hands itch as much as ever, and who would assuredly escape, if I did not hold the bridle high. I shall in the present year make but few steps in advance, but I do not lose courage. I know that my cause is good, and that if my friends leave me, I have given them no cause for doing so. I hope, also, God will stand by me in my just endeavours, and alter the minds of others. However this may be, I will end my life with honour as I have conducted it hitherto, and should

* I be ill treated by fortune, the consolation remains that I have done my duty for the avoidance of the calamities.

* Ambassades de Rome, MSS. Bibl. Roy. Vol. VIII. p. 56.

In another letter of Henry to Luxemburgh, June 21, 1597, we find:—I am thinking of peace, and if the Queen of England will not be reconciled, and shew herself too hard to deal with, and interested, I can the easier separate from her without reproach. For I must prefer the welfare of my kingdom to all other regards, and am not pledged to pursue the advantage of one who wishes to misuse my word to the prejudice of my state.

About the same time (June 24) Luxemburgh writes from Rome to the King:—I have spoken with Pope Clement VIII. upon the things adverted to in your letter, yet without letting him see the great embarrassments in which we find ourselves. For the exposition of ill success helps to nothing in Rome, where they only run after prosperity. It was also scarcely useful either to alarm a timid and undetermined spirit, or to bring him to the opinion about ourselves, that he alone was in condition to save us from our distress. We should, meanwhile, not obtain through submission what we might hope to obtain from the good fortune and good cause of your majesty.

I insert a letter of the Sultan to Henry IV*. Amurath, by the grace of the great God, Emperor

* Bibl. Roy, MSS. No. 9037. Translation from the Greek.

of Constantinople, Syria, Arabia, Irak, Jerusalem, Europe, Chief of the House of the Ottomans, and of all rulers of Asia and Africa, Sovereign of the seas, to thee, Henry of Navarre, sprung from the invincible race of the Bourbons. I wish thee health and an happy end, since thou art very mild and friendly to men, and has lost thy parents early in thy youth. The renown of thy greatness, generosity, and valour has reached even to us, and that Philip of the House of Austria, manifestly favouring thy enemies, seeks to exclude thee from thy just inheritance out of hate, because thou hatest the false worship of the idolatrous, which displeases the great God, and wilt keep that pure which thou prizest above every thing on earth. I cause this to be said to you, that I abhor this tyranny which looks to its own ends, that I take thee into protection, and will humble the pride of thy foes, even of this Spaniard who unjustly withholds from thee Navarre. I will restore thee by means of my power, terrible to the whole world, to the fear of all princes and kings thy neighbours. I will bring them if it please thee to such extremities that they never more shall injure thee. And for the commencement and sure token of my good will, I will send thee, so soon as there shall be need, 200 ships to Aiguesmortes.

LETTER XXXIX.

Henry IV. and Elizabeth.—Instructions for Henry's Ambassador in London.—Peace of Vervins.—Two Letters of Elizabeth to Henry IV.

Two such distinguished spirits as Elizabeth and Henry IV. could not fail mutually to acknowledge each other's worth; but as the interests of France and England did not always coincide, what appeared a duty to the one, was sometimes disapproved by the other. For the elucidation of their relations, I communicate some passages from the instructions of Henry IV. to his Ambassador in London, as also two letters of Elizabeth upon the peace of Vervins.

In an instruction of October 1590, addressed to Bouillon, Henry treats the Queen with great respect, and says * :—I thank her with all my heart for the good and distinguished services which I daily receive from her, and shall willingly remain more and more obliged to her than I already am.

Instruction of April 12, 1596, to Sancy :—The King

* Dupuy MSS. 290.

will much rather put up with every inconvenience, and expose himself to all turns of fortune than displease the Queen. The good which since his accession he has received from her, binds him ever to honour, love, and serve her, and to accommodate himself to all her wishes, as far as the welfare of his kingdom and his subjects allows.

Instruction of April 1597 to Fourquerolles:—The friendship of Queen Elizabeth was always dearer to me, and will be always more precious to me than any treasure I can acquire. Without stronger aid from the Queen, I am, however, too weak to withstand the Spaniards.

The instruction of June 1597 to Reaux begins with complaints of the misfortunes of France; then proceeds:—Peace is not impossible, so much because it would be to the disadvantage of the King of Spain, as for the reason that the King of France is so jealous of his honour, that he will not enter into anything without Elizabeth, if his crown can be saved in any other possible manner.

The instruction of November 1597 to Maisses, contains assurances of friendship and gratitude, but excuses the negotiations already opened with Spain. These led, Elizabeth delaying to take part in them, to the separate peace of Vervins, concluded May 2, 1598. With reference to these negotiations, and this

peace of Vervins, Elizabeth wrote two autograph letters to Henry IV. The first runs * :—

De la main de la Reyne au Roy de France†. Par Monsieur
Edmondes.

MONSIEUR MON BON FRERE,

Si on vouldroit recercher entre les choses mondaines chose qui retient la plus grande iniquité, et par laquelle ceste machine de terre que nous inhabitons, le plustost se ruine, c'est se manquer de foy, l'incertitude d'amitié, et moins d'amour ou il y a plus de raison. Quoy considerant je me suis bien prompt a mal penser de tel, de qui ie bien merite, que j'ose fonder assuree pensée qu'en vous resideroit un si mortel peche que l'ingratitude, lequel entre les hommes se peut iustement nommer peccatum in Spiritum Sanctum. Pourtant quelle chose que mes tablettes me disent ou que quelqu'vns des vostres escrivent, il ne pourra entrer en mon coeur vne seule pensée que considerant tout ce qui est passé entre nous deux tant d'amitié, que ne me feriez plus de tort,

* Bibl. Harleiana, 4464, fol. 15, undated.

† It has appeared to the translator, that these two letters, as specimens of the orthography and composition of Queen Elizabeth, would be more interesting in the original, than in any form of translation which he could attempt. [Tr.]

que nul roy du monde feroit a deux parties qui proposeroient leur cause deuant luy en esperance de tant de justice, que ou il y auroit moins de raison il y auroit plus d'amitié, et non assister la plus droiete partie, ce seroit trop d'insensité de le voire en vu grand roy. Pour ce voiant que m'avez connu a ce Collogue et y estes entre si avant que scauez le tout que se pourra demander de vostre part et tout qu'ils vous concedent tout a rebours de vostre serment a moy fait par vostre ligne. Et que m'avez ordonné un si court iour pour ma responce, chose assez estrange; Je vous fay scauoir que j'attends que me faciez cognoistre de vostre main propre, a qui ie me fieray en ce traicté. C'est à dire, si moy demandant que ce que sera honorable et raisonnable et que mon ennemy en niera la raison ou demandera le dangereux et ne veule venir a faire une paix telle que se doibt entre les princees, si alors vous ne voulez arrester la conclusion pour vostre parti. Voila rondement ce que ie demande sans cautele, sans differer le Collogue ains pense de l'avancer. Et pour me corroborer l'ame en sincerres cogitations de vous. Je vous prie hastez la responce; si le vent promettra; ceste responce viendra en mes limites, les bornes desquels ie n'ay voulu passer. Par qui entendrez ma volonté de traicter. Priant le Createur qu'il vous donne

sa grace a ne oultrepasser les confins d'honneur et de raison, sur qui tous princes se doibvent fonder. Quoy faisant me trouuerez tousiours,

Vostre tres affectionnée et assurée bonne Soeur

ELIZABETH R.

The second letter subsequent to the conclusion of the peace begins *:—

De la main de la Reyne au Roy de France. Par Monsieur Edmondes.

MONSIEUR MON FRERE,

Comme une estourdie par esuanouissement par pour le temps le sens, et ne comprend qu'on luy fait de bien ou mal, iusque a ce que l'errant entendement un peu se remette en lieu accoustumé, de telle facon ie me confesse, estant bien eslonguée de mes vielles expectations, et bien meritées esperances, me trouvois si frustrées de ce qui me sembla et conuenable et licite, que ne seachant a que i'escriroy voiant tel change, Je me doubtoye qu' escrire vu en cest humeur trop touchant mon interieur, on me presente vostre lettre escrite a vostre vieil seruiteur, en laquelle i'entenda que d'un grand feu les estincelles n'en furent du tout si amorties que dedans les cendres

* MSS. Harl. 4464. fo. 16. b

il ne reste encores quelque peu de chaleur, qui me fait mestre plume a ce papier, que autrement ne vous eust fasché de mes mal martialles mots, par lesquels pourres entendre, que comme le passé se peust, plustost regretter qu' amender aussy me confie—ie que l'erreur ne se conuertira en peché ; Qui me fait attendre en vos actions plustost vn effacement de ce que se feist, plustost qu' vn accroissement pour trop accumuler le poids que desia a esté trop pesant, et comme il ne vous a pleu attendre si brief temps qui ne vous pouuoit incommoder—aussy m'esvahi ie fort de n'entendre quelque exception au traité, s'il me commence, non qu' il ne se defend. Mais ou i'ay esté oubliée en vn endroit,—J'espereray encores que par vne amende tiendrez la main non paralytique en mon endroit. Et comme auez le temps prefix pour mon entrée, aussy quand y manderay, vous souviendrez la vieille amitié non obstant la nouuelle, que i'ose promettre ne trouuerez ressemblante. Et comme en son endroit vous estes monstre fort charitable, aussy a moy ne serez que iuste. Ce sera la seule ambition que de vos mains vous desire.

Vostre bien meritante Soeur,

E. R.

Frere, ie vous supplie, a ce porteur, a qui i'ay donné charge des choses qui vous touchent.

Though Henry IV. sought in every way to justify himself, the Queen was yet so irritated, that she ever reverted to this transaction ; on which account Henry writes in his instruction, drawn up in Dec. 1601, for his ambassador Beaumont *:—Should Elizabeth renew her complaints upon the peace, &c., you must answer ;—the operation and consequences justify the dealings of his Majesty, that they deserve the thanks instead of the blame of her friends, and this the rather that she has obtained more than ever, and will obtain her share of the great gain which accrues thereout to his Majesty.

The embassy of the Duke of Biron in Sept. 1602 †, had no political object of consequence. The King lavished praises on Elizabeth, and expressed his wish to see her, although such a project at the advanced age of Elizabeth presented insurmountable difficulties.

* Dupuy, 290.

† Memoires du Regne de Henri IV. MSS. Bibl. Roy. No. 8965.

LETTER XL.

The Archduke Ferdinand to Philip III.—The Cleves' inheritance.—Assembly of Princes at Hall, in Swabia.—Preparations for war.—Flight of the Prince of Condé.—Negociations in Brussels.—Death of Henry IV.

ALTHOUGH the peace of Vervins put an end to the war between France and Spain, it was yet very natural, as Elizabeth had foreseen, that the latter power should enter into closer alliance with Austria, the former with the Protestant princes of Germany and Holland. This is not the place to follow step by step the march of these events; I therefore content myself with illustrating individual points from manuscript sources.

A letter first presents itself written Sept. 7, 1609, by the Archduke Ferdinand to the King, Philip III.*

* In the Italian language. Barrault *Depesches D'Espagne*. St. Germ. MSS. Vol. 800.

It runs :—Were not the necessity which drives me to write so great and notorious, I would not trouble you in the matter of the immeasurable expenses, which press upon us continually, and, for the most part, unavoidably. But necessity has no law, and can have none, and by it not alone is the dignity of such an house as that of Austria bowed down and well nigh destroyed, but also, which is of even more consequence, the true worship of God and the most holy Catholic faith, as makes itself evident, to the sorrow of every Christian and the scandal of every good statesman, in a miserable fashion. Thus it falls out in all the dominions and provinces of our house ; and if my states have recently shewn more respect and obedience, I have to thank for this, after God, my indefatigable watchfulness and insupportable expenditure. Nevertheless, the example and attraction of the neighbouring and revolted heretics are so powerful, that I not only conjecture, but with certainty apprehend, my subjects will allow themselves to be seduced to join the dance, as soon as they shall see my means exhausted and myself deprived of foreign aid. I am therefore compelled to betake myself to you for refuge, and to pray you to extend to me now, for the urgent purpose of prosecuting the heretics, the help which some years back you afforded me against the furious attack of the Turks.

Ferdinand, after repeated entreaties for money, and, in case of need, for troops from Italy, proceeds:—I hope to obtain all this from your Majesty, the rather as these dangers no less threaten your possessions, and those of the Italian Princes, and the Lord God has endowed Your Majesty with the title of Catholic King, and with so great power, to enable you to defend the Catholic sovereigns and nations. He will reward you most richly, but I shall ever remain thankful for the past and the future, who now make over to you my person, my possessions and property, kiss your royal hand with the greatest love, and commend myself to your grace.

Cotemporaneous with this effort to unite the House of Austria for the preservation of the Catholic religion, were the endeavours of Henry IV. to weaken that house. The opening of the Cleves*
*

* By the death of J. William, Duke of Cleves, without issue. The Emperor claimed the succession as a male fief, and bestowed it on his brother the Archduke Leopold. It was also claimed by John Sigismund, Elector of Brandenburg, who had married a niece of the deceased Duke William; by Wolfranc William, son of the Duke of Neuburgh, as nephew by the mother's side to Duke William; by the Elector of Saxony, Christian II., &c. France opposed the Emperor, and it was ultimately di-

inheritance gave pretext and occasion for this. In the instruction for Henry's ambassador to Germany, Bongars, Nov. 1609 *, we find his principal commission is to betake himself to the Elector of Brandenburg, and to say to him,—the King learns with joy that he is minded to maintain and manfully to defend his claim upon that inheritance. This determination is worthy of the justice of his cause and of a courageous prince; he ought in no manner to allow himself to be robbed of what comes to him by right. The end of Spain is to place the Archduke in possession, to which the King can in no manner assent; yet does not wish to dissuade the Elector from coming to a reasonable accord with the Emperor, since he will otherwise undergo reproach, nay, the chief imputation of the war which will be the consequence.

The negotiations were placed on a somewhat extensive basis, when Frederick of the Palatinate, John-Frederick of Wirtemburgh, and others, deputed Prince Christian of Anhalt, in the name of the Protestants, to Henry IV., upon which Henry empowered Monsieur de Boissise to attend the Assembly,

vided between the houses of Brandenburg and Neuburgh.
[Tr.]

* Brienne, MSS. Vol. 292.

which was held by the above princes at Hall, in Swabia, from Jan. to Oct. 1610.

Immediately after his departure, the state secretary, Neufville*, writes to him:—We would willingly have gained over the Elector of Saxony, (Christian II.,) and have convinced him of the egoism of Austria; but he is incapable of acknowledging the truth, and those about him are so corrupt, or so ignorant, that they either serve the Emperor for money, or let themselves be so grossly deluded, that their stupidity will be the occasion of great calamities, unless means be found to undeceive them. The King is determined upon action (*voies de fait*) but only to follow upon the results of the deliberations among the princes, for we have no inclination to dance and lead the brawls by ourselves (*dancer et bransler*). It would be perhaps also better to labour for an agreement, by help of a separation, than to take up the defence of people, who have neither courage nor activity to save themselves. Hereupon Boissise, Jan. 31, from Hall:—The confederates do not leave off their slowness and their accustomed formalities. The towns refuse to pay for the affair of Juliers, and give precedence to that of Donau-

* Dupuy, MSS. 765. Boissise came January 21, 1610, to Hall.

worth *. There is a contest upon the right of voting, the towns and the Counts demanding as many votes as the Princes, from fear of being otherwise overwhelmed by the latter. Many Counts are also holders of fiefs from the Princes, or councillors of the Emperor, and labour to set difficulties in the way; the union appears defective in itself and insecure.

Two days earlier, Jan. 29, Neufville writes to Boissise:—We are in anxious expectation of accounts which we may reasonably expect from the Princes, in order to found upon them a final resolution. For it is necessary to be rapid in our dealings, so as not to be anticipated by our adversaries. The King's view does not change, he is rather strengthened in it, as seeing that the King of Spain wishes to profit by the flight of the Prince of Condé †,

* Forcibly occupied by the Emperor in 1608, and Protestantism suppressed. [Tr.]

† Henry Bourbon, father of the grand Condé. He was married, in 1609, to Charlotte de Montmorency, with whom the King had fallen in love, and had broken off her intended marriage with the Marquis de Bassompierre, for the purpose of keeping her at the court. This passion excited the greater scandal, as many supposed that Condé himself was Henry IV.'s son, by an adulterous intercourse with his mother, Charlotte de la Tremouelle, who was supposed to have poisoned her

and it is more necessary than ever to apply all our existing means to the weakening of the House of Austria. There is yet no appearance that Condé will take counsel by his duty. He is still in Brussels, yet we believe that the Archdukes will require him to depart, in order to avoid offending the King, who approves of the Princess of Condé remaining with her sister-in-law, the Princess of Orange, it being premised that the Prince shall return to France; for his Majesty will never sanction places of security being afforded as a reward for disobedience. King James, of England, certainly does nothing; we must therefore ascertain, above all things, the means and the spirit of the Germans, before we take a final resolution.

In the same sense writes Henry IV., Feb. 12, 1610,

husband. Condé soon discovered the King's profligate intentions, and to frustrate them, carried off his wife by night, Aug. 29, 1609, on horseback, to Flanders. The scandalous memoirs of the time concur in describing the grief and indignation of Henry at this elopement. Historians and biographers have laboured to prove that Henry's projects of war upon the House of Austria were not founded on this event; but it appears that at least the eagerness with which he pursued those projects was partly due to the reception of Condé in the dominions of Spain and Austria. [Tr.]

to Boissise : We must unite the towns, Counts, and Princes, gain over the House of Saxony, by giving it a part of the inheritance, or at least effect a division in it. It is very unsatisfactory that the deliberations at Hall lead to no firm result, and I would be secure and prepared for every event before I deal further. The Swiss, continues the King, Feb. 23, never stir except for money. Could we only satisfy the Elector of Saxony, that would much weaken the party of the Imperialists. I entertain in no respect the project of undertaking any thing against the Catholic religion, &c. Neufville adds : —the Princes are more inclined to an agreement than to war ; and you know that it would be very inexpedient for us to make a *levée de boucliers*, merely to bear the consequent odium and expense. The King of England, moreover, although he promises to join the union, is jealous of the confidence which the German Princes repose in Henry IV. Another letter of Villeroy to the French ambassador in London, La Boderie, of Feb. 22, 1610, is more instructive *. It runs : —The conditions of the treaty of Hall, which I forward to you, are not over and above advantageous to us. Yet we have determined to be satisfied with them, since by different conduct we should create such

* Ambassades de La Boderie, Tom. 44.

mistrust among the German princes, or rather so increase that which naturally exists, that they would fall away from the union which we are bringing about, into fresh dissensions. We shall meanwhile exert ourselves to obtain greater advantages than their written declaration holds out to us.

May 4, 1610. Henry IV. writes to Boissise:—I fear that the Princes will soon be disgusted with the expenses of the war, and yet I can do nothing by halves. Instead of 8000 infantry and 2000 cavalry, with which I promised to assist them, I have collected more than 20,000, and am myself disposed to take the command of them. Neither do I perceive that the Archduke Albert is making any extraordinary preparations.

Seventeen days later, (March 21,) Puy sieux complains to La Boderie, that the German Princes had adopted resolutions as foolish as they were mischievous, upon many proposals of the King. It is surprising, he proceeds, that we wish to support these Princes, who stand in such need of our aid, and yet in the same instant, so directly, and in so unreasonable a manner, injure us. They do not help themselves, and wish for others to help them. If the assistance afforded be powerful, they are apprehensive and suspicious that it may be turned against themselves rather than for themselves. If it

be weak, they complain of our coldness, and put it forward as a pretext to make weak preparation on their own part, in such manner, that it is extremely difficult to set in the right course people entertaining such views.

On the same day Boissise writes:—The German Princes fear the danger, their answers are therefore slow, doubtful, undecided. I have been able to extort no others, and your Majesty should therefore build little upon their counsels or assistance. Yet I think, that when it comes to the point, you must, for good or for evil, dispose of a part of your power for the purpose. The 5th April, the King replies:—Brandenburg and Neuburgh will not, as I wished, satisfy Saxony. If the Princes do not hinder the passage of the troops which the Emperor has levied for the support of the Archduke Leopold, he will soon be master of the campaign. For my army cannot be in readiness before the middle of May or the end of April, and the Archdukes are arming as much as they can in Flanders. The conduct of the Germans is doubtful and illusory, and their ignorance and weakness so justly suspicious to me, that while in conjunction with them I move upon thorns. Yet you must in any case, as much as possible, suppress and conceal this.

Thus doubtful was the state of things on the side

of Germany at the moment when the war was to begin. A second series of negotiations was meanwhile proceeding in the Netherlands, which turned principally upon the Prince Henry and the Princess Charlotte of Condé. The common version, that she, in concert with her husband, had fled to avoid the amorous importunities of Henry, and that it was principally on her account that he had chosen to declare war, receives from the writings of Puysieux, Cœuvres, and Ubaldini, substantial addition and confirmation.

The instruction to the Marquis de Cœuvres, when he went to Flanders upon this affair, contains in substance the following * :—Condé treated his wife unworthily, on which account her father, and Mademoiselle D'Angoulême, who has supplied the place of mother to her, require that she should be set free from him. The King is so much the more bound to take her into his protection, as she was married to Condé by his Majesty's absolute command. Moreover, Condé grounds the fear of danger to his life in the event of his return, which he maliciously professes to entertain, upon these circumstances relating to his wife. The King, on the other hand, promises him pardon and security, if he will submit and sue

* Dupuy, Vol. 121.

for pardon, with permission to leave his wife in Brussels, or Breda, with the Princess of Orange.

Extracts from letters of Villeroi, Puysieux, and the King, throw light on the further proceeding.

Puysieux to La Boderie, Jan. 17, 1610*. The King is willing not only to forgive the Prince for having left the kingdom without his knowledge or leave, but also to pardon the unbecoming and malicious speeches uttered by him to the prejudice of his Majesty's reputation, as also the letters which he insolently wrote to the Pope, the Emperor, and the King of Spain, justifying his conduct, and imploring security in their states. The Prince, on his part, requires a place of security on the frontiers of the kingdom, which for the King to grant would be too disgraceful.

Villeroi to La Boderie, Feb. 6, 1610. The Prince will not return to France, through fear that people may amuse themselves at his expense, and think lightly of him; nor can he put faith in the grace and word of the King. Enough, he will keep himself free, in order to be able to avail himself of all contingencies. The Archdukes assure, that they will not abet him; but the King demands that they should send him back.

* Boderie Ambass. MSS., Tom. 44.

Puysieux to La Boderie, Feb. 6, 1610. The Prince makes believe as though he had great means to annoy the King. It is, however, certain that he has no followers, (although he demands pardon for such,) no friends, and no money ; so that he would be reduced to beggary, if the Marquis of Spinola did not come to his aid with 4000 livres. The Archdukes will determine on nothing without instructions from the King of Spain, but find themselves much embarrassed with the presence of the Prince.

Villeroi to La Boderie, Feb. 22, 1610. We hold the Prince now for lost ; i. e., altogether given up to the Spaniards. There is, moreover, an outcry set up as if the King had wished to carry off the Princess. You know how much his Majesty is averse to such enterprises, and may conceive how hard it would be to steal her from the palace of the Prince of Orange and the side of her spouse. All this is managed by Spinola, at the command of the King of Spain.

Henry IV. to La Boderie, Feb. 22, 1610. I have no fear whatever that the King of Spain will be able, while I live, to hurt me by means of the Prince ; for he is a weaker and more insignificant instrument than one can well conceive. But I am aware that they are keeping him up for the express purpose of using him against my children in the

event of my death. The Prince has expressed himself upon this so openly and imprudently in Brussels, that I am compelled to consider those who further harbour or assist him as favourers and accomplices of his project.

Henry IV. to La Boderie, March 20, 1610. The Duke of Lerma, to whom the King of Spain confides the supreme direction of his affairs, has held such extraordinary language, as to make me believe that the King has taken the Prince under his protection, not either by accident or out of compassion, but with the premeditated design of insulting me, and revenging himself for the assistance which, as he says, I have afforded to his rebellious subjects in the Netherlands.

Villeroi to La Boderie, April 16, 1610. The Prince has left Brussels, and has been received with great honour in Milan, by the Count Fuentes. These things are more insulting than hurtful to us, and it appears that their authors willingly avail themselves of the occasion to shew us their bad will and hate.

Finally, however, the Archduke Albert conceded the passage of the French army; but this message arrived only after the King's assassination. This thunder-stroke, writes Neufville to Boissise, the 20th May, has so hurled us down, and burnt our wings, that we can fly no longer, or carry through that

which we had proposed to ourselves. Four days later Villeroi declares *: We wish to stand by the German Princes, but only in order to end their controversies with a good peace; for if innovations and disturbances were to break out in our kingdom, we should be compelled to keep back the succours intended for Germany. We wish for peace, although without disgrace; we must prefer our own preservation to the welfare of others.

* May 24 and June 8, 1610. Boderie Ambass. Vol. 44.

LETTER XLI.

Reports of the Nuncio, Ubaldini.—The Princess of Condé.—Peace or War.—Cleves succession.—Mediation of the Pope.—Death of Henry IV.—Ravaillac.—Regency, and conduct of Queen Mary.—Concini's Favour.—Sully's Fall.—Relations to the German Protestants.

AMONG the Paris Manuscripts are the reports, in eight volumes, which the Nuncio, Ubaldini, furnished, from 1608 to 1614, to the court of the Vatican from Paris. Ubaldini is a Romish ecclesiastic of the usual stamp, with all the well known, fixed, views, policy, and objects of that class. In no instance does he exhibit any original or animated power of observation, and those characteristic traits are usually wanting in his reports from which one learns most accurately the march of events, and the character of the leading persons of the day. Their contents are chiefly devoted to affairs of minor interest, and upon the greater he only gives us the superficial views which are collected by observing one side of the subject. If, however, the results to be

gathered from his eight thick folios are not upon the whole very rich, there are yet very interesting and instructive passages to be found in them, e. g., upon the relations of France to Spain, peace or war, the Prince and Princess of Condé, &c.* Ubaldini writes, March 31, 1610, to the Cardinal Borghese, with reference to the latter subject. The Princess will not separate from her husband, and the King is agreed with her on that point. The Queen Mary, on the other hand, finds herself in great embarrassment. Her husband not only desires her to invite the Princess to her coronation, but also to beg the Infanta to permit her journey. She has obstinately refused this, and has said to the King:—"She has wished to put up with his love intrigues with the greatest patience, but will never consent to be herself the go-between, or to appear as such to the world." The King was so incensed upon this, that he ordered the preparations for the coronation to be postponed, which, (although, after some days of the bitterest altercation, a reconciliation took place,) under the pretext of being put off till September, may easily go to the wall.†

* Colbert, 3307. Bibl. Roy. 9938. A—H.

† Andara facilmente a monte. At the prayer of the Queen the coronation was hastened. Report of April 14, 1610.

In order to avert the breaking out of a war, Ubaldini and the Spanish ambassador had audiences of Henry IV., upon which Ubaldini reports as follows: April 14, 1610—The Spanish Ambassador wished to speak at length with the King upon his preparations for war, and asked him in direct terms, why, having no enemies, he was raising so great an army? Upon the answer of Henry, that he was arming to support his friends, the Ambassador replied, the affairs of Cleves were unimportant in themselves, but if the King were to mix himself up in them they would become of the highest importance, and throw Christendom into great calamities! "The first to mix himself up in them," rejoined Henry, "had been the King of Spain, in that he supplied the money, by means of which the Archduke Leopold prosecuted the war." This the ambassador denied, with a loud voice, and said, whoever had given the King that information was a liar. Leopold had only received from Spain, through Balthazar de Zuniga, 100,000 dollars for his personal necessities. Philip, however, would defend the Archduke and the Infanta, in the event of their being attacked. Henry replied:—The Catholic King did well to take the part of his relations, but not well to trouble himself about the relations of others (Condé.) And hereupon he deduced a long string of complaints against

Spain, beginning from things gone by, till he came down to the circumstances of the day, and to the Prince of Condé. The ambassador replied:—His master trusted that he had in no respect done anything at variance with his ancient friendship for the King. Henry, however, said:—I know with certainty that you wish to avail yourself of the Prince, in order at some future time to wage war upon the Dauphin. With the greatest reluctance the ambassador replied:—The friendship of my master does not deserve expressions so removed from all good feeling and reason. The King not appearing to believe and approve this, the ambassador took still greater offence. Henry at last asked, why he had sought an audience? and received for answer—from no other ground than to inform his Majesty that all which concerns the Archduke and the Infanta, equally concerns the King, and that the affairs of Cleves will be of consequence or not, according as parties may conduct themselves. As your Majesty now knows this, you may reflect upon it. The King said upon this—"I have reflected upon it;" and dismissed the ambassador, who from this hour held the war to be unavoidable.

The Nuncio now sought to turn the King in every possible manner from war and the support of the Protestants, but obtained this answer:—"There is

in this no question of religious matters, but only of political, as the declarations of the Emperor and the Elector of Saxony prove. I am not of opinion that any changes should take place in the matter of religion." The Nuncio replied :—"What his Holiness does for the support of the Catholic religion, your Majesty must not consider as a service rendered to the House of Austria. You also maintain, on your part, that the help which you furnish to the Protestants, has no reference to the Catholics ; but that, on the contrary, every thing you do is done for the advantage of religion."

The King soon came upon the topic of the Princess of Condé, and said :—I demand that she should be given up to her father, since she wishes to be separated from her husband, and all men allow that she is justified in doing so. I know well that ill disposed people spread the report that I am in love with her ; but the world will pay more regard to my age, and all the circumstances of the case, than to malicious insinuations. Now, when I am on the point of entering Germany with an army, I have other thoughts than those of seeing the Princess. God, to whom alone I owe a reckoning in this matter, knows my conscience, and if all were true of which I am accused, yet it would bring no disgrace

upon me in the eyes of men, who do not grudge a cavalier the love for a fair lady. Ubaldini replied :—What appears of no consequence in ordinary men, becomes of the highest consequence in a king. For my own person, I believe what your Majesty says to me as all grounds confirm it. In order, however, to stop the mouth of every malicious person, it would be consistent with your Majesty's prudence, not to mix yourself in this affair, but to make it over, (as a private complaint,) to the Constable Montmorency, (father to the Princess,) who will it is to be hoped content himself with the satisfaction which the Archduke is ready to give. He even declares himself inclined to deliver the Princess to her father, provided only that justice and his honour be not impeached. In spite of these representations the King insisted on his views, and Ubaldini wrote on the following day, April 15, 1610, to the Cardinal Borghese:—From hour to hour it becomes more plainly perceptible that it is the King's main object to recover the Princess; she has, moreover, still further excited him lately by letters in which she calls him her knight, and prays him to free her from confinement. Thence arises the impatience of the King, who does not now intend to prosecute the proceeding for a divorce, as being long and doubtful. If the Archduke do not give her

up, the war may be considered as certain, and the King will take as his pretext, the Archduke's refusal to permit the passage of the troops. All the ministers, and Sully *, (who is now disgusted,) more than all, seek in vain to restrain him, and acknowledge privately to their intimates, that the destruction of the kingdom is unavoidable.

The President Jeannin has said to the Flemish plenipotentiaries:—That the public peace is in the hands of the Archduke, and that peace or war hangs on the restoration or detention of the Princess, that the other points are mere jesting. This is confirmed by a declaration of the King, who complained to me to-day of the Ambassador's having said that the Princess would be another Helen. He should know, learned man as he is, (added the King,) that Troy was destroyed at last because Helen was not restored. The King often finds himself unwell, sleeps little and not soundly, falls out with every one, and is feared by his own ministers. The Queen lives in great affliction. A year since, all France called for war, and the King stood alone in refusing to hear of it; he now alone presses for it, and all others abhor it. It is certain that general depression

* This is at variance with Sully's *Memoirs*. [Tr.]

prevails, and the army will be collected with great difficulty.

At the same time the Nuncios at Prague and Cologne sought to bring about an agreement upon the Cleves succession, and the Emperor confided the necessary powers to the Archduke Leopold. According to his account of April 28, 1610, addressed to the Cardinal Borghese, Ubaldini told the King:—It appears to be useless to press you on the subject of the Cleves succession, as it is plain to be seen that your view is not to assist your friends, but to fall upon the Archduke Albert, and to break with Spain. The King here fell into the discourse and said:—You are in error; my object is not to do any evil to the Archduke, but to go direct to Juliers. I shall ask him as a friend for a free passage, and shall pledge myself not to hurt a hen-roost by the way. If he, however, refuse me the passage, I am determined to make my own way by force. As Ubaldini observed:—it must be jesting for the King to maintain that the Archduke had no ground to refuse a passage to a great army. The King reverted to his complaint that he had been insulted, and said in great wrath, there is no other way out of it than to give up the Princess forthwith to her father, and bring back the Prince to obedience to me, or to ex-

pel him from the dominions of the Catholic King. Ubaldini then put together all the arguments which could persuade to peace: oppressive taxes, internal factions, danger of all kinds of mischances, and even in the case of success, the jealousy of the English and Dutch, who would rather see Flanders in the hands of the Spaniards, weakened as they are, than of the French. The King replied:—I know well that my allies pursue their own interest, and will be guided by it in either joining themselves to me, or separating themselves from me. I mean therefore to rely upon myself, and my own strength alone, and trust that God, who knows my views, will protect and favour me; and this the more inasmuch, as yet, no miracles have been wrought by him *. Ubaldini answered:—I pray God that your aim and object may be such that you may justly hope for the continuance of his support, which is usually given to him who has right on his side.

The King rejoined again:—I insist upon the liberation of the Princess, not because I am in love with her, as those calumniously maintain, who wish thereby to excuse their revolt, and also to attack my honour, after having trenched upon my royal rights; but on account of my obligation to her fa-

* The sense of this is somewhat obscure in the original.

ther, who married his daughter at my exhortation, against her will, to the Prince, and since I cannot, without disgrace, suffer the Archduke (a Prince of less account than myself) to keep prisoner one of the first ladies of my kingdom, against the will of her father and herself.

On the same day, (April 28,) Ubaldini wrote in like manner to the Cardinal Lanfranco:—The breach, says he, is unavoidable, in consequence of an attack of passion. I do not speak of Cleves and the Prince, for they are mere pretexts. The King has rejected with scorn the way of justice, (the only method in this emergency, offered by the Archduke, and recommended even by the French ministers,) and has chosen the way of arms as the shorter, in the hope that the Archduke will give way out of fear. Instead of now, when he sees his error, betaking himself to that path, he acts like a desperate man. I use this expression because he said to me yesterday, in that very form of expression, “The Spaniards have brought me into desperation.” If the King would yet take counsel, and if Holland, England and Savoy, were to shew their aversion to his projects, he might yet perhaps be kept back. But not all political considerations united, can do so much to throw water on the general conflagration as the letters of the Princess do to excite it, such as she

has lately written to the King, begging for his protection, and swearing to him that no other hope remains to her of liberty or life, than God—and himself. Sillery and Villeroi shrug their shoulders, and give to understand, as well as they discreetly can, that the passion of the King frustrates all their exertions. I have pressed the Queen to throw herself on her knees before the King, and implore him for peace. She answered:—I have often already done so with tears, and will again, but it is all in vain.

May 12. Ubaldini furnishes another report to the Cardinal Borghese; stating, that he had represented to the King in another audience, that the Archbishop of Nazareth was sent by Pope Paul V. with the express commission to mediate a peace. In a courteous answer, Henry imputed all the blame to the Spaniards, and said:—The endeavours of his Holiness could not prevent him from marching to Juliers with his army, the only object of his undertaking. Ubaldini answered:—This was at variance with the requisitions of his own friends, must excite universal suspicion, was favourable to the Protestants, would set enormous military power in motion, and appeared unseasonable; as an active negociation for peace was going on the while in Prague. On these and similar grounds, the King ought to keep quiet.

otherwise he would demonstrate that he merely wished to break with Spain! Henry answered:—This was not so, he only demanded a passage, which the Archduke would grant him, and if Brandenburg and Neuburgh were reconciled, he would be content. Ubaldini answered:—The King was pleased to jest, all depended upon him, and according to his pleasure would the agreement respecting Cleves be concluded or frustrated.

Yet the Nuncio believed that Henry would see with pleasure the restoration of the Princess, that he might avail himself of it as an obvious pretext for laying down his arms. On the other side, however, the misunderstanding increased, since the Spaniards spoke undisguisedly against the second marriage of Henry and his children, and in favour of the claims of Condé. The Archduke sought in every way to move the latter to send back his wife, but in vain. He considered it, however, impossible without consent of her husband, without instruction of the Church, to deliver up the Prince. The French were moreover prepared in case of a process of divorce to prove scandalous things against the Prince.

Precisely at this time, (two days after the despatch of this report,) when the great question of peace and war stood for instant decision, and the King was on the point of starting for the army—he was murdered!

We scarcely know whether (despite the absence of proofs) we should believe in human agency and conspiracy in this matter, or view in it a deep-laid decision of Providence, which cut off the King's thread of existence at the moment when he was carrying into execution plans of foreign conquest. In any case his death was an enormous calamity for France, and any sympathy we might feel for Spain, is stifled by the knowledge that the despicable persecution of the Moors, so terribly debilitating to that state, fell out exactly at this period.

With reference to the assassin of Henry IV., Ubaldini writes, May 30:—Ravaillac persists that he has no accomplices, and that he has been moved by nothing but religious zeal. At last he has confessed his folly and guilt, with penitence. God be thanked, who according to his wisdom and providence has not permitted that more than one person should participate in this frightful crime, and that he should be preserved alive, in order to proclaim to the world the truth of the transaction, and to contradict calumnies out of which endless mischief might have proceeded.

It is extraordinary, (proceeds Ubaldini,) that the Queen should have received private letters from Flanders, wherein mention is made of the King as

murdered. The Spaniards and Flemings wish to seek out the original copies of this letter *.

The Queen Mother, Mary of Medici, led her son Louis XIII. into the Parliament, where he said:—Messieurs, as God has taken my lord and father to himself, I am come here by the counsel of my mother the Queen, to tell you, that I wish to follow your good counsel in the conduct of my affairs, and hope that God will graciously enable me to profit by the example and the lessons of my father. I pray you, therefore, to give me your counsel, and now to deliberate upon that which my chancellor will lay before you †. These words, says an anonymous re-

* Ubaldini seems here to have followed mere report, and speaks in the antecedent of *letters*, *lettere*, but in the other sentence of a *letter*, *lettera*. The last words; della quale lettera I Spagnuoli e Fiamminghi vogliono trovar l'originale; may be so interpreted as if copies only had been laid before the Queen, and as if the Spaniards, &c., did not believe in the existence of originals. Dupuy, Vol. IX., p. 18, contains a MS. collection of what had been written and said upon Henry's death before it took place. But all put together does not suffice to afford any proof of further connection among the schemes for his removal.

† Memorandum sur le Regne de Louis XIII. Dupuy, Vol. xc., p. 32.

porter, were heard only by few, partly on account of the noise, partly because the King spoke with a very weak voice.

At the council many precedents of former regencies were adduced, and (no one making opposition) the sovereignty was, without hesitation, made over to the Queen mother.

She made no use of Ubaldini's good advice, to keep herself in bounds, and to proceed with foresight; wherefore he writes, Sept. 29, 1610.—The disproportioned favour which the Queen shows to Concini, is well adapted to ruin every thing in process of time. In other things also, she manages ill. This people, e. g., has been accustomed, especially by the deceased King, to friendly language and condescending demeanour. The Queen, on the contrary, speaks little, and by no means lays herself out to please, as custom and circumstances require.

The whole world (proceeds Ubaldini in another place) complains aloud, that Concini has been raised to the title of Marshal d'Ancre and governor of Peronne, at an expense of more than 200,000 scudi. There are several other prevalent rumours no less false than scandalous. It is, however, true that he sells favours of the Queen in a shameless manner for hard money, and no one dares to gainsay him. Yet

the Queen answered the Cardinal Joyeuse :—She saw well that the whole court was hostile to Concini *; since however, she had supported him against even the deceased King, she would carry through her purpose against all others.

With partiality, equal to the justice with which he decides on the affair of Concini, Ubaldini deals with that of the minister Sully. February 11, 1611, he writes to the Cardinal Borghese :—At last Sully has given up the finances and the Bastille. In this affair, the Queen conducted herself well, and all passed without violence. The Chancellor and Villeroi attacked him through Condé and Soissons, who also boast that they have carried through the affair to the disgrace of Guise and Epernon, who wished to uphold the Duke. Meanwhile it was necessary to urge the Queen much, and to fortify her in the project, in which I joined assiduously. Concini also at last put himself on the side of the Princes of the blood, and turned his back on Sully, forgetful of the 50,000 scudi †.

It is well known that Mary forthwith gave up

* I pass over some reports of Ubaldini upon the Jesuits, the writings of Mariana, and Bellarmine, the restrictions upon the Huguenots, the rights and policy of the Pope, court intrigues, &c.

† No further light is thrown upon this allusion.

the political system of Henry IV., and protected the Catholics in Cleves and Juliers. She said, (according to Ubaldini*,)—The alliance between the King and the Protestants came to an end with the death of the former, and I have never consented, in spite of the most pressing demands, and the wishes of the King of England, who has allied himself with them, to renew it.

* Letter of March 14, 1613.

LETTER XLII.

The Jesuit Cotton upon Louis XIII.

THE character of Louis XIII., as it unfolded itself in after years, displayed features so unusual and extraordinary, that it is interesting to trace out the principles which appear to have governed him in youth, and to discover in what direction his earlier education guided him. The following letter, written by the Jesuit Cotton, confessor to Henry IV., to the Father Busilignus, confessor to the Duke of Bavaria, affords some valuable information on this topic*.

As I have not yet fulfilled my promise of writing something upon the King, and upon his sister betrothed to the Prince of Spain, I will now discharge my obligation, and give you a circumstantial report upon the disposition, capacity, and religious tem-

* Extract from the Urbini MSS. in the Vatican. No. 1113, p. 680. Copy in the Paris Library without date.

perament of both ; all true, upright, and without colour. The King has an extraordinary inclination for good and aversion to evil ; so that if any one utter an imprecation or any unbecoming expression in his presence, or beats a dog or other animal, he becomes angry, and can in no manner endure to witness the wrong. To the poor whom he falls in with he orders alms to be given, and the moment he suspects that his almoner or other officer is giving but little, he orders him to disburse three or four times the sum. When country people bring poultry, pigeons, hares, and such like live animals to market, the King buys them for ten times their value, partly because he considers the purchase a mode of giving alms, partly because he delights in such animals. He possesses, in fact, in different places, animals of every kind ; lions, bears, apes, partridges, pheasants, storks, cranes, birds of the east, &c. without number. What he best loves, however, is to hunt with falcons and to shoot birds, of which he has already killed upwards of a hundred. At first, he had scruples lest God should be offended at this slaughter of his creatures, and asked me, seriously, whether the practice were not a sinful one.

Having once been present at a comedy of a rather indecent description, and hearing some of the courtiers praise it, he said :—All would have been

very fine, if the actors had not done and said what was unbecoming. Another time he imposed silence upon a gentleman, who spoke of things not to be mentioned, and forbad a man of great consequence to enter his bedchamber without permission, because he had had intercourse with ladies of a certain description *.

He abhors heretics more than can be expressed, although he wisely conceals this aversion. He takes delight in religious instruction to that degree, that he has learnt nearly all which concerns the orders, ceremonies, sacraments, and even the hierarchy. In this branch of knowledge he is so far beyond his years, (as I shall hereafter relate more in detail,) that this very day, on which I am writing, during divine service, he enquired what I thought of the Bishop who openly spoke ill of the Pope? I answered: "The Bishop's character had long been in bad odour with all men," which I never would say of a prelate, or of any other man, if the fact were not well known, and if it did not appear useful that his Majesty should learn to know the bad as well as the good.

* He carried these virtues to great excess in after life, as may be observed from his military general orders for the expulsion of light women from his camp, and those against blasphemy and swearing among the soldiers, the severity of which made them impossible of application. [Tr.]

Hereupon the King said: Therefore, he must be a sinner who made that man a bishop. Has he not also intercourse with women? And this he repeated several times in the same words. If he knows that any one is pious and good, he takes note of him, and behaves to him in the most friendly manner, but to irreligious men with the utmost aversion. He is moreover never idle, but in constant activity, while he is awake, following, in all respects, the great example of Henry IV. He understands mathematics almost intuitively, and loves geography and fortification, drawing plans of the latter after the rules of Euclid. He makes carriages, towers, citadels, birds, &c., very dexterously of wood, wax, paper, and other materials. He draws with the brush or pen without instruction. When still in the arms of his nurse he beat time with his hand on hearing music. He plays much at ball for the strengthening of his limbs.

He has a general and accurate knowledge of the rules of grammar, which ensure propriety of expression, and avoids errors, or recognizes and corrects them on the instant. He translates very well into French, from the Latin, passages not too difficult. He applies himself to the sciences and religious instruction in the following manner. As soon as he rises he prays, according to the ritual, break-

fasts, then proceeds to his lessons, and repeats what he has learnt. Then follow dancing and fencing, till the divine service, which is always accompanied with music. Then walking, the chase, ball-play, according to inclination and convenience. He then visits his mother till dinner-time, at which his chief intendant always assists, his preceptor often, and sometimes the confessor, the almoner, or other respectable persons. They all converse properly, without any timidity. After dinner follow recreation, visits, supper, prayer, &c.

Some relate, they have observed, without being themselves seen, how the King raises himself up in his bed, prays on his knees, and sprinkles the spot where he lies with holy water. When he is about to make a country excursion, especially for the purpose of hunting, he is the first to wake, rouses his servants, and warns them all, if it be an holiday, not to neglect divine service. In his riding and hunting he avoids, as much as possible, injuring the crops. Four times in the year he communicates, and with such reverence as could hardly be expected from his years. This devotional spirit shewed itself remarkably on the occasion of the coronation at Rheims, when he received the communion in both kinds, according to the privilege of the Christian kings, from the hands of the Cardinal Joyeuse. When he

once, at the age of nine years, met the procession of the Sacrament, he caused his carriage to be stopped, jumped out, and prayed with bended knees, saying to his chief intendant and the others, I have heard from my confessor that the good fortune of the house of Austria springs from this holy practice *. His breviary and the entire service he knows most perfectly, so that scarcely a bishop could be found who could surpass him in repeating every part of it.

Next follow particular relations of all his devotional practices, how conversant with and fond of sacred histories he is, &c. It then proceeds :—If an ecclesiastic or other commits an error, he notes and rates him for it immediately. If the courtiers jest or babble on sacred occasions he has them rebuked ; if the younger gentlemen who are brought up with him are guilty of it he has them whipped. He has still about him, from the times of his father, some heretic attendants who cannot on account of the evil of the time, be dismissed. These he often warns, or rather exhorts with arguments, to become converts to the Catholic faith.

It happened once, (for he is of a sanguine and

* This alludes to a well known anecdote of Rodolph of Hapsburgh. [Tr.]

bilious temperament,) that a word fell from him in anger which displeased his mother. He fell instantly upon his knees in tears, and begged her forgiveness ; not (as he himself said) to avoid punishment, but to expiate the guilt. He then turned to his chief intendant and said, “ Exhort, rebuke, punish me, for I have deserved it.”

He loves our society, (the Jesuits,) informs himself much of our mode of life, and he is pleased with hearing us well spoken of. After once listening for a long time to an adversary of our order, he reprimanded him, and gave him as he past a thrust with his elbow.

His sister Isabelle has a similar disposition, quick intelligence, active and healthy body. She is always in motion, and at prayers has her attention distracted merely by her vivacity.

Cotton, the writer of the above, was nothing less than beloved in general. The pages on one occasion surrounded him, crying, “ *vielle laine, vielle bourre, viel Cotton,*”* and stuck pins into his arms and legs.

* Journal de l'Ambassadeur Anglais, 1604. Vespasian F. X. I found in the same MS. Bibl. Harl. No. 6895, fol. 143, the following passport given by the Jesuits in 1650 for 200,000 florins. Nous, soussignés, protestons et promettons en foi de prestres et de vrais religieux, au nom de notre compagnie a tel effet suffisamment autorisés quelle prend maitre Hippolite Braem, licencié en droit sous sa protection, et promet de le defendre contre

They were whipped for it, and some of them dismissed.

toutes puissances infernales qui pourraient attenter sur sa personne, son âme, ses biens, et ses moyens, que nous conjurons et conjurerons pour cet effet, employans dans ce cas l'autorité et credit du serenissime Prince notre fondateur pour être le dit Le Braem par lui présenté au bieuheureux chef des apôtres, avec autant de fidelité et d'exactitude comme notre dite compagnie lui est extremement obligée. En foi de quoi nous avons signé cet, et y apposé le cachet de la Compagnie. Donné à Gand le 29 Mars, 1650. Souseris par le recteur Seclin et deux pretres Jesuites.

LETTER XLIII.

States Assembly of 1614.—Elections.—Opening.—Mode and kind of voting. — Sittings.—Cahiers.—Contest between the Orders.—Complaints of the Noblesse and the Clergy against the third Estate.—Reproaches.—Assembly and Parliament.—Finances.—Eloquence.

THE difficulties which accrued from the bad administration subsequent upon the death of Henry IV., led finally of necessity to a convocation of the States; although few persons anticipated from them any sound and politic results for the diminution of existing abuses, or imagined that they could be led on and shaped to such a purpose.

My communications follow simply the MSS. I have discovered, omitting as I proceed, what is already known. The elections of deputies commenced, in accordance with the summons of the court, in the summer of 1614. An anonymous author relates, June 25*: The provost of the merchants,

* Dupuy, Vol. 91.

together with the eschevins, summoned the citizens of Paris to choose ten electors for each quarter of the city ; of whom five were to be officers of the crown, and five merchants or citizens. There appeared, 1st. the clergy who possess residences in Paris, 2. the deputies of the quarters of the city, 3. the members of the parliaments and the upper chamber of accounts, who chose two of the city council, one for the church, two for the parliaments, two for the upper chamber of accounts, two for the court of taxes, two citizens not merchants, and three merchants.

Besides this short account the MS. contains nothing upon the Paris elections ; it is silent upon the proceedings in the provinces ; yet the little it contains evinces that they differed from the former proceedings, and that severe attention was paid to the personal qualifications of the electors and the elected.

According to the protocol of the third estate, the first sitting of all three orders was held, October 14, 1614, in the Cloister of the Augustines*. Each order had its separate chamber of assembly, the refectory being allotted to the third estate. The deputies took their seats according to their provinces, without prejudice to their respective claims of pre-

* Procès verbal du tiers état. Bibl. Roy. No. 285, 286. fol.

cedence. On the occasion of the choice of the clerks the question often mooted in 1593 again was raised, whether they should follow according to bailliages or according to provinces? By the latter arrangement the little provinces which contained few bailliages had the advantage, and *vice versâ*. No mention was made of voting by the head. This time the choice fell upon the mode by bailliages, with a provision for taking more certain resolutions thereafter.

Four days later, October 18, the deputies of Bretagne and Normandy represented, that although their provinces included many bailliages, (Bretagne had twenty-nine,) these had nevertheless appeared in very small numbers, and they were thus much curtailed by the mode adopted. It was answered, that in the election of the officers of the assembly, less depended on the mode of voting than on the mode of making the motions, and they abided for the present by their arrangement.

Some remarked that previous to the verification of their powers no election could hold good. Others replied, that without presidents and clerks, that verification could not be conducted. They, therefore, chose Miron, (councillor to the King, and provost of the merchants,) on account of his personal qualifications, and not in deference to his last mentioned dignity, for the president of the third estate. The city

of Paris started objections to this, which were unanimously overruled. Another protest of the individuals of the class of nobles who had been chosen as deputies of the third estate, against prejudice arising out of this to their other rights, was, on the contrary, received. All the deputies swore at once the same oath, and that they would keep secret the deliberations.

The orders complimented one another through deputies. Those of the third estate said upon this occasion to the clergy :—They approached the latter as the lights of the State, and as those to whom God had imparted more than to the other orders, they looked to receive from them the most wholesome counsels for the amendment of the State, and the healing of all its maladies. No less eulogy did they lavish upon the nobles, as upon those who had planted the banners of France in the East, had restored religion, and had saved the state from dangers by their valour. The verification of the powers was conducted according to provinces, and devolved only in cases of controversy upon the full assembly of the third estate.

When the King opened the assembly, every one was bound, by a resolution of October 24, to appear in the dress of his rank, yet they yielded to the wishes of some of the merchants and citizens, who

for the sake of decorum, desired to attend in mantles, with woollen or camlet caps.

October 26.—The deputies went in procession to the church of Notre Dame two and two, and in the order of bailliages, the third estate walking first, then the noblesse, the clergy, the Holy Sacrament, in the hands of the Archbishop of Paris and under a canopy carried by four princes, then the King, the Queen and her suite, the parliament and the high authorities, lastly the companies and communities of the city of Paris.

Ubalдини relates the following upon the opening of the assembly, October 27:—At three in the afternoon the orders were collected in the great Salle Bourbon. It was royally arrayed and provided with a scaffold with steps at one end. In the middle sat the King under a canopy, to the right, somewhat lower, his mother, his two sisters, and the Queen Margaret, all on chairs covered with velvet and studded with gold fleur de lis. Four paces further removed were four benches, on which sat the Prince of Condé, the Count of Soissons, the high noblesse, and the officers of the crown. Benches covered with green were placed around in the hall for the deputies, and in the middle for the councillors of state, &c. Contention arising between the noblesse and the clergy for precedence, it was determined that every one might sit where he

would, and thus some pressed on to the seats set apart for the councillors. The King, the chancellor, and the orators of the orders spoke in succession, the orator of the third estate however kneeling.

I communicate next some accounts of the remarkable sittings of the Assembly in the order of their taking place.

SITTING OF NOVEMBER 4, 1614.

Presidents and clerks are chosen for the provinces, to collect the votes of the bailliages upon the drawing up of the special motions; and upon the formation of the general motion of the province. These motions of the provinces then came into the full assembly of the third estate for deliberation and voting. If the votes of the twelve provinces are divided upon a motion it falls to the ground; and the same thing occurs if a similar schism takes place in the provincial deliberation. The majority of bailliages decides the acceptance or rejection of a proposition*, two deputies for one bailliage have only one vote, which, however, is not counted if they disagree. The city and the bailliage have so much the more determinately only one vote, as the King has issued one and

* According to the procès verbal of the clergy of December 15, the majority of the provinces had the decision. MSS. of the royal library in Berlin, Vol. 16, fol.

the same summons to both (except in the case of Paris only). Out of the motions of the twelve provinces grows the general motion of the third estate.

SITTING OF NOVEMBER 5.

The Assembly will meet every day from eight to eleven, and from two to four. Only Wednesday and Saturday afternoon remain free, unless very urgent affairs arise. For deputations to the other orders, the twelve provinces nominate twelve deputies, six of whom wait on the noblesse, and six on the clergy. If there be question of one deputation only, six betake themselves to the King, or to the other order, according to the order of the provinces. The six settle among themselves who is to speak for them.

SITTING OF NOVEMBER 6.

The clergy proposes that the three orders shall come to an understanding upon all subjects of common interest, and embody their conclusions together in a report, before they proceed to matters which concern each order in particular, and upon which it is possible to make three separate representations. By this method, time is gained, more importance is given to the proposals, and the King's council is compelled to give an answer. In the chamber of the third estate, some spoke for, others against this pro-

ject. The following day, however, November 7, the deputies of all three orders, were summoned to the Louvre, and a royal ordinance laid before them, to the effect: that if all three orders were not agreed upon all points, each should (as formerly) deliver a separate proposal. It was alleged as a reason, the new form was too extensive; it was impossible to define what it was which concerned all three orders, &c. In fact, however, the court feared the weight of demands brought forward by all three orders.

SITTINGS OF NOVEMBER 7 AND 13.

With reference to a special subject, seven provinces contend against five, that the votes shall be taken by provinces.

A proposition rejected by the deputies of a bailiage, cannot be again brought forward by a province.

That, however, which has been so rejected, can once more be deliberated upon in the assembly of the whole order; on which occasion the province which rejected it, has again the right of voting.

Meanwhile the nobles' chamber has elected presidents and councillors according to provinces*; has

* Sitzings of the 20th, 21st, 23rd October, and November 5. Procès verbal de la Noblesse. Bibl. Roy. MSS., No. 283.

next verified the powers, has invested those present with the power of decision against the absent, has embodied the motions of the bailliages in twelve provincial reports, in order out of these, to form the report for the entire order.

About this time, however, a schism arose between the clergy and the noblesse. In the sitting of November 20, Savaron, a deputy of the third estate, said:—The French have shaken off the yoke of Rome, on account of the insupportable burthens which it imposed on them; and I wish that I may be a bad and not a true prophet when I say, it is to be feared that the extraordinary burthens of the people, and the oppression which they suffer from the great and the powerful, may urge them in despair to throw off their obedience, whereby the State in general, and every individual in particular, would run great risks.

Another time, the Lieutenant Civil, the President de Mesmes, as a deputy of the third estate, said to the noblesse:—France is our common mother, and has given suck to us at a common breast. We are your younger brethren; treat us as those who are of the same house as yourselves, and we will honour and love you. It is moreover, no new thing that younger brothers should restore to prosperity houses which

have been ruined by the elder. By the special grace of God, we (the Parliaments) have arrived at place and dignity, occupy the judicial seat, and are the administrators to families of that peace which it is your business to procure for the kingdom at large.

This speech was very ill received by the nobles, and the President on the instant, complained that the third estate wished to establish its brotherhood with the nobility, as though it were of the same blood and equal virtue. Nay, on the day following, the nobles made a solemn complaint of the alleged injury to the King, and the President said, among other things:—All history teaches us that birth has given to our order such a precedence, and established such a difference between us and the rest of the nation, that the latter can never be brought into comparison with us. It is by the toil and the exertions of the nobility, that the people enjoy the advantages which follow in the train of peace. Almost without exception, all of that third estate are bound by fief or subjection to the other two orders, and yet they mistake their situation, and forget all their duties, inasmuch as, without the consent of those whom they represent, they wish to compare themselves with us. I am ashamed to repeat to your Majesty the expressions, by the use of which they have in-

sulted us. They compare, Sire, your State with a family, speak of three brothers, and have ventured on the expression that the younger has sometimes restored what the elder had ruined. To what a wretched condition are we sunken if this be true? What avail so many distinguished services from time immemorial performed, so much honour and dignity given as an inheritance to the nobility, and merited by their fidelity and devotion—if all this, instead of exalting, has so far humbled us, that we are to be forced into a community with the vulgar, the closest which can take place among men—that of brotherhood!!

I cannot find that the King spoke out in this matter, which rather came before the clergy for decision, upon which, however, many remarked, that it was dangerous to submit controversies between two orders to the decision of the third. At last the nobility were told that the third estate had no intention of offending any body, but begged to be left in peace that it might be able to attend to its duties with assiduity and without disturbance *. Clermont D'Antragues, much discontented with this, has said to one

* Journal de ce qui s'est négocié et arrêté au tiers état, par le Doux, Lieutenant-General d'Ebreux. Dupuy, Vol. 604, compare Vol. 520 and 286.

of the clergy:—If the third estate do not give a sufficient satisfaction, we will make over their president and Savaron to the mercy of our lacqueys. Although several deputies had heard this, it was at last determined not to consider the matter, or take it up as one concerning their body.

February 4, 1615. Jaques de Chenailly, deputy of the third estate, going out of the assembly was so beaten by Henri de Bonneval, that the stick broke in two. Neither the motive, nor any consequence of this proceeding is related, but it is clear that it had reference to disputes between the orders.

The clergy was thrown into greater excitement when the third estate put forward the assertion, that the King possessed all his rights from God alone, and that every officer should affirm this principle upon oath. The Nuncio Ubaldini complains of this in several letters, and writes to the Cardinal Borghese*. You see how far the impiety prevails of those to whom the administration of justice is committed in France. Most of them belong to the third estate, and are inclined to a division in the church. The deputies of Paris run before all the rest and drive the others to a resolution so worthy of

* Letters of December 18, 30, and 31, 1614. Vol. VI. and VII.

abhorrence. This devilish oath (he proceeds in another passage) is like the English oath, and the Queen must step between it and us with her dignity. The Cardinal du Perron has, it is true, gained over the nobility by his discourse, but has found in the third estate, so much passion, obstinacy, and want of reason, that their president had the audacity to answer him:—This affair concerned the State alone, and not the doctrine or religion, and that they were acting as became good and faithful subjects. They were willing to amend any obscurity or liability to misconstruction in their expressions, but not to alter the substance of their proposition.

Cotemporaneous with these controversies between the orders, was a doubt which arose as to their relations with the Parliament *. The orders declared that their dignity would not permit the Parliament in any manner to take cognizance of any matter treated of by them. While the assembly was in being, the King alone had a right to decide upon the controversies which might arise between themselves, or with the Parliament. The Parliament is an honourable body, but has no jurisdiction over the orders; to allow of such, would be to sacrifice the honour and reputation of the assembly.

* Procès verbal de la Noblesse. Sitting of February 6, 1615.

Meanwhile the reports and proposals of the provinces were carried forward towards the composition of the general motion (*cahier*) of the third estate, but in the course of this the necessity was unfolded of their obtaining full information of the state of the public finances. The court caused two reports on this subject to be read, but refused to impart them in writing, which measures were approved by the clergy, who told the third estate, by their deputies, that the finances were the nerve of the State; but that, as the nerves are hidden under the skin, so must the strength or weakness of the finances be concealed. When formerly the veil of the Holy of Holie was drawn, no one but the High Priest went in to speak the word Jehovah; all others remained without. The finances are the manna in a golden chest. Nor were the staff and the rod wanting, which, however, were only extended over the poor. Commissaries, namely, were sent out, ordinary and extraordinary, whose only function it was perpetually to demand money.

The president of the third estate answered:—As Jesus Christ said, he willed to expose to all people what he had learned from his father, it seemed fitting to move the goodwill of the King to lay the administration of his dominions open to his people.

Almost all the speeches of the time, viewed without reference to their substance, but only to their form, appear mannered, diffuse, and loaded with useless digressions and false learning; in other respects, too ceremonious and feeble, rather than pithy or arrogant. Monsieur de Murat, delivering an oration to the nobility in the name of the third estate, said:—It belongs to us to make confession of our own ignorance; in regard of the astonishment into which we have been thrown by the dignified, fair, fine, and grave discourses of those who have been deputed to us on the part of the nobility. And in truth, the great quantity of refined and well selected flowers of rhetoric, employed by them in these discourses, have made us, as it were, lose the substance and intent of the propositions by them made.

This might be received for irony, but it was simple earnest, and Murat merely sought to imitate the most famed models, in adducing a quantity of far-fetched comparisons, and in citing Homer, Alexander, Cæsar, &c.

All these MSS. sources of information confirm the fact, that fixed forms and rights were wanting to these assemblies; there was much ado about nothing. They should have framed or renovated such forms, but not on account of the want of them, have let

those which existed fall to the ground. The chastisement of this error was apparent not only during the period of the death-like sleep of the States, but also in that final moment when they were, by imperious necessity, roused from that repose.

LETTER XLIV.

Condé's affairs, his feud and arrest.—Mary of Medicis.—Death of the Marechal D'Ancre.—Louis XIII. and his mother.—Richelieu.—D'Ancre's malversations.—Conduct of the Marechale and her son.—Luynes.—Disgrace of Vieuville.

THE States General had been courteously set aside, and the Parliament, which then came forward with various representations and demands, had been repulsed with harshness, but the government was further than ever from its object; the difficulties of the Queen were, on the contrary, aggravated by the pretensions of the Princes, and finally by the juster claims, but harsher measures, of her son. As early as the 29th January, 1613, Ubaldini says of Prince Henry of Condé:—The Queen will not put him in occupation of the fortress which he requires; but he is full of mischievous talents, and seeks in all ways to throw the kingdom into confusion. They were any thing but agreed at the court, as to how the Prince should be dealt with, and Ubaldini writes,

April 22, 1613 :—Condé keeps himself at a distance, and betrays discontent, which much embarrasses her Majesty, so that she is meditating how she can, consistently with her dignity, recall him; yet not in the manner which the Marechal D'Ancre intends. The latter openly declares, that the ministers wish to keep the Prince from the court, and thereby ruin the affairs of the Queen. I have no participation in such a mode of carrying on the government. The Queen was greatly incensed at these avowals, and the Marechal is gone in disgust to Amiens; but his wife sets every thing right again.

The minister Puyzieux writes upon these affairs, July 31, and August 25, 1615, to the French ambassador in London, Desmarets *. The public good is merely a pretext, but self-interest is the real ground of this tragedy. If any thing really required improvement, it would be fitting to make discreet and secret representations upon the matter, but not thus to drag it into the light and to set to hazard and sacrifice the King's honour and dignity, and the glory of France.

An open feud ensued first with Condé. then came the agreement of Loudûn, then fresh misunderstand-

* Dupuy, Vol. 419.

ings, and finally his arrest, September 1, 1616.* The report prevailed that he had been killed by the Marshal D'Ancre's people. Hereupon, (as is related in an anonymous MSS.), the Lacqueys and servants of Condé went to the palace of the marshal, broke in the smaller doors, put the guard to rout, and were supported by the people to such an extent, that from 5 to 6000 men were soon collected, who forced their way in with such fury, that some were pressed to death in the crowd. The palace was plundered, chests thrown out of the windows, furniture and papers carried off, every thing else broken to pieces. They even broke or tore to pieces the carpets, chairs, beds, doors, the wainscoats, and flooring, the lead of the gutters, the marble of the chimneys and wells. All the plants and shrubs of the garden were torn up, and there were no means of preventing these disorders.

The marshal, instead of taking warning and foresight by this tremendous exhibition of the popular

* The King writes September 1, 1616, to Desmarets :—Des personnes mal intentionnées ont voulu persuader le Prince de Condé de se joindre a eux, j'ai été conseillé de m'assurer de sa personne, sans avoir le dessein de lui faire aucun mauvais traitement. Of Vendome it is said, Feb. 6, 1616, Il a fait banqueroute a son honneur et devoir. Dupuy, Vol. 419.

hate to his person, assailed the King in many ways, for having associated himself with his enemies, and for having commanded that the marshal should be arrested, and in case of resistance killed; that if he came not to the Louvre, he should be sought out, and if he escaped, pursued on all sides. Information on all the circumstances of this transaction, is afforded by a MS. which probably is from the pen of a Monsieur du Vair, one well instructed in all that passed*. It runs thus in substance:—April 19, 1617, the Queen-mother spoke of the phrensy of the people, and in particular of the Parisians, who let themselves be easily talked over to acts of the greatest folly. They had even loaded herself with an heap of calumnies, and were not ashamed to say that she had taken part with the Duke of Epemon and the Marshal D'Ancre in the murder of her husband.

In the evening, she observed that her women were amusing themselves with a volume of sooth-sayers' predictions, demanded to see it, and found herself adverted to in a sentence which predicted her downfall as a consequence of her conduct. The same night she had so unlucky a dream, that she

* Dupuy, Vol. 661.

woke in a fright, lay in an agony, and could hardly draw her breath.

April 23rd, the King caused the Countess of Soissons to be asked, whether he could trust her and her son, and whether he could make use of her house in case of need, as a sure place of refuge for himself and his people? She answered:—She had no other will but his. This was all in anticipation of the possible failure of the project for flying to Meaux. The marshal came, accompanied by fifty or sixty persons, to the Louvre, and is said, when the order for his arrest was announced to him, to have laid hand on his sword, or as others tell it, to have required that they should first conduct him to his little residence. It is certain that they slaughtered him, without delay, with several pistol shots, and sword thrusts. Two of his pages wished to amuse themselves with weeping over his body, but the others carried away his hat and cloak.

As soon as Mary heard of the death of the marshal, she said, “I have reigned seven years, and desire nothing now but a crown in heaven.” When a certain La Place asked her, whether she would not take measures to inform the Marechâle of the death of her husband, she replied, “I have other things to think of, and if they will not say the news to her, let them sing it.” At last the Marechâle learned what had

passed, hid her jewels forthwith in a mattress of her bed, and caused the Queen to be asked, through La Place, whether it would be agreeable to her, that she, the Marechâle, should come to her, that they might mutually comfort each other, and that she might implore the Queen's protection? La Place found the Queen in the company of some ladies, her hair dishevelled, and wringing her hands. She answered,—she had enough to do with herself, and forbad that any one should speak to her of those people, to whom she had before said, that they should long since have returned to Italy.

The King had, at the time of the action, shewn himself at the window, and cried aloud, “Thanks, great thanks to you ; this hour I am a King! Summon the old servants of my father, I will govern for the future by their advice.” They did as he ordered ; his mother, however, demanded to speak with him. He answered, she should do so another time ; at the moment, he was busy. For the rest she might be satisfied that he would always respect her as his mother ; but, since God had invested him with the kingly office, he was determined for the future to reign, and execute its duties. The Princesses were, meanwhile, forbidden access to the Queen, and Louis said : They have whipped the mules for six years

together in the Tuilleries; it is full time that I should discharge my calling.

The Queen's guard was meanwhile disarmed, and the Marechâle arrested. The soldiers searched her bed, found the jewels, plundered the furniture, and carried off all her articles of dress, so that she found no stockings when she proceeded to dress herself. She was, therefore, obliged to beg her son, who was arrested elsewhere, to send her a dollar wherewith to buy a pair. The poor little boy sent her a quarter of a dollar which he found in his pocket, for which, however, nothing better than a pair of linen stockings could be purchased.—In the hope of finding more valuables about her, the soldiers searched her in an indecent manner, she was obliged even to pull up her gown and shew her drawers*.

The King determined to dismiss Barbin, Mangot, and Luçon, (afterwards Cardinal Richelieu,) who laboured in vain to obtain an audience, and the King's favour. The Bishop of Luçon determined also to go to the Louvre and try whether he could not manage to make his way to the King with the other secretaries of state. After he had long kept at a

* They were red. Vide Bayle, art. Galigai. [Tr.]

distance, and had found scarcely any one willing to speak with him, he ventured at last to approach the King, who was standing upon his billiard table, (*qui etait sur la table de son billard,*) and when he saw him approach, cried:—Well, Luçon, I am at last rid of your tyranny. Richelieu wished to answer, but the King said:—Go, go, take yourself hence!—At last he sent word to the King:—Your Majesty and every one well knows, that for more than a fortnight I have demanded my dismissal even with tears, because I was aware of the disorders to which people abandoned themselves, and made representation to the Queen, but in vain, that I could not as a gentleman put up with certain speeches of the Marshal d'Ancre. The Queen, however, caused the doors to be shut upon me until I promised to retain my posts. I now wish to know, what are the King's commands? The King caused answer to be made him:—He might attend the council as a bishop if he pleased, but was released from his office of Secretary of State. Richelieu upon this gave up all the papers to Villeroi, and wished to enter the council, but he never ventured to take his seat, but remained behind the door, where he conversed with M. Miron. Yet a little while, and he only spoke of the marshal as of a scoundrel (*pendard*).

The marshal's people were at the same time

arrested, or driven out of the city. On the second day his body was dug up, and a lacquey, whom he had discharged from his service with the threat, "he would have him hanged," hung it up by the legs. While the body was thus hanging, which it was for half an hour, that lacquey went round among the spectators with his hat, and asked for a present for him who had hung up the marshal. This was so much approved, that in an instant the hat was entirely filled with sous, which every one, the poorest beggars not excepted, threw into it as a meritorious gift. So great was the universal hate against this unhappy man.

When the *marechâle*, who, as yet, had not shed a tear, heard that her husband was thus hung up, she manifested great emotion, still, however, without tears. Yet she did not hesitate to say:—My husband was a man of pride and pretensions, no misfortune has happened to him which he has not deserved, and which I have not foretold to him. For three full years he has not slept with me, (he keeps a mistress,) he was an odious man, and I had determined to go to Italy in the spring to escape from him.

The archers who guarded the marshal's son opened the windows which looked upon the Pont Neuf, in order to shew him his father hanging, that

by this horrible example he might learn to make a better use of good fortune. The clamour of the mob appearing to come nearer, the boy asked, whether they were coming to destroy him? Being answered, "No, that he was in security;" he said, "I had rather they killed me than that I should be as unhappy for the rest of my life, as I have been since I knew any thing of myself. I could never go near my father or my mother without, instead of a caress, receiving a box on the ear."

Meanwhile, horrible atrocities were perpetrated on the body of the marshal. A man thrust his hand into the breast already opened, drew it out all bloody, in order to suck the blood and to devour a fragment which he had torn away. All this without regard to the circumstance that the corpse had been dragged through the kennels, and was full of filth. Another found means to tear away the heart and another part of the body, which he roasted on some coals and eat with vinegar. All this took place in public, with every body looking on from the windows.

They sentenced the *maréchale*, though condemned of no crime, to death, and she suffered with great firmness. Her son was at last released from prison, an individual being found to give security for him. The young Queen sent him *confits*, and some add,

she sent for him and told him :—She had heard that he danced the Saraband in perfection, and wished to see it. And thus the poor child was obliged to dance, despite his misery, in order to obtain, perhaps, from the Queen some alleviation of his wretched situation.

So far the relation of a well informed man upon the horrors of these days ; who shall excuse them ? And yet, if we consider the enormous riches which D'Ancre left behind him, and his bonds for two millions and a half in value, he cannot (even without reference to other charges) be considered as innocent. Unhappily his successor, Luynes, was no better than himself. In an official report of January 26, 1619*, sent by an anonymous writer to London, we find :—after Luynes and his brother, by the favour of the King, obtained entrance into the council of state, all the great men and gentlemen withdrew from it, either out of dissatisfaction because they could carry through no measures, or because they were expelled from it with contempt. This has afforded opportunity to the Queen-mother, kept as a prisoner at Blois, for seeking to gain the hearts of the discontented, who willingly attached themselves to her. The King, on the other hand, though

* Bibl. Harleiana, 1583, fol. 176.

frightened at first, convened the princes, ministers, councillors, &c., and it was determined with so much the more energy to suppress all raisers of disturbance, inasmuch as the Protestants immediately declared for the existing government*.

Luynes meanwhile understood not how to make discreet use of the advantages he had gained, and his successors hardly deserve mention. It was not till Richelieu entered the council of state, and his adversary Vieuville was dismissed, that energy and intelligence were infused into the administration. Upon the dismissal of Vieuville there is a letter of the King to the Marquis d'Effiat, his ambassador in London, of August 13, 1624 †:—The misconduct of Vieuville ‡

* Letter of the Prince of Piemont, March 11, 1619. The same, fol. 177, 194.

† *Negociations du mariage d'Angleterre.* MSS. Bibl. Roy. Chambre du Levant, No. 47, p. 56.

‡ Charles, Marquis de la Vieuville, one of Louis XIII.'s early favourites, having been thrown into that sovereign's society in the chase, in virtue of his office of grand falconer, in which he succeeded his father. He exercised for some time great power, as confidential minister of Louis, especially in the department of the finances, but his endeavours to introduce economy by the reduction of pensions and sinecures, raised up an insurrection of the blood-suckers of the state against him, and he sunk before this faction and the enmity of

has compelled me to do violence to my disposition and to dismiss him, for several reasons, of which the lightest would justify this treatment. He took upon himself to alter resolutions which had been adopted in my presence and by my command; he negotiated without orders with foreign ambassadors, and attributed to me the ill turns which out of his own malice and revenge he did to several persons of my court. He put in my way crafty persons, who were instructed to give me evil impressions of those in whom I placed confidence, hoping by this means to insinuate himself into my favour, and make himself necessary. In short, he has neglected no way of injuring others in order to derive advantage

Richelieu, whose introduction into the council he had promoted. After his dismissal in 1624, adverted to in the text, Louis sent for and took an affectionate farewell of him. On leaving the royal presence, however, he was arrested and thrown into a dungeon, from which he escaped at the end of a year, and took refuge out of France. In 1626, he was pardoned, and allowed to return, but the enmity of Richelieu made his residence in France unsafe, and in 1631 he again fled to Brussels. In 1632 he was condemned to death *par contumace*. On the deaths of Louis XIII. and Richelieu he returned, and was restored to favour in the administration of the finances under Mazarin, but he died within two years, in 1653. He left behind him an honourable reputation for talent, and still more for integrity. [Tr.]

himself, and has thought to find his own security in his audacity. I have borne this for a long time, in order to obtain more certain information of the facts, and thereafter to give him to understand, he was conducting himself unbecomingly, by which I might hope to bring him back to the right path. At last, however, he has exhausted my patience, and I have been compelled to apply severer methods, as his pride and folly undermined all confidence, and his passion might easily do secret injury to my affairs. On this account I have been obliged in his case to add arrest to dismissal, without instituting stricter investigation into his administration, which, by itself, whatever it might have been, would not have drawn upon him the measure of his arrest.

LETTER XLV.

Process of Chalais and Marillac.—Return of Mary of Medicis.
Assembly of the Notables of 1626.

I HAVE found but little relating to Richelieu's government, and that relates to the process of Chalais and Marillac, and the dealings with the Queen-mother.

The tribunal appointed for the trial of Chalais *

* Henri de Talleyrand, Comte de Chalais, another early favourite of Louis XIII., and attached also to the younger brother of Louis Gaston, Duke of Orleans. His love for Mademoiselle de Chevreuse is said to have led him into intrigues against Richelieu, and he warmly opposed the plan of that minister for the marriage of Gaston with Mademoiselle de Montpensier. He is said to have undertaken the assassination of Richelieu. For this and other alleged offences he was brought to trial by Richelieu, who, by a promise of mercy, extorted from him a confession, and brought him to the scaffold in 1626, aged 26 years. His friends had procured the evasion of the executioner, and that functionary's place was supplied by a malefactor, who hacked off his head with a carpenter's hatchet with thirty-nine blows. [Tr.]

consisted of the keeper of the great seal, two presidents, and six councillors of the parliament of Bretagne, and three Maistres des Requêtes *.

Chalais, says a contemporary reporter of Nantes, was brought here, August 18, 1626 †, condemned to death and executed on the 20th. He displayed great firmness, and said : “ I am very unfortunate to have ill served the best of princes.” He caused his mother to be told, “ he died well contented,” since he deserved a greater punishment than that which he was about to undergo.”

The commission, which conducted the enquiry against the Marshal Marillac ‡, was composed of six councillors of state, two presidents and thirteen councillors of the parliament of Dijon, and three other councillors.

When his fate came to the vote (according to a different enumeration of the members) there voted against his death three Maitres des Requestes, and

* Relation du procès de Chalais. Dupuy, Vol. 480.

† Dupuy, Vol. 93.

‡ Marillac, Marshal of France, had earned that dignity by his valour in the field. Engaging with his brother, the garde des sceaux, Michel de Marillac, and the Queen-mother, in intrigues against Richelieu, he found his rank no protection against the Cardinal's vengeance, and at the moment of apparent success was brought to trial for peculation, and executed in 1632. [Tr.]

seven councillors of the parliament*. For his death, both the authors of these reports, viz. a councillor of parliament, and a Maitre des Requestes, three other Maitres des Requestes, five councillors of parliament, two councillors of state, and the keeper of the great seal.

I have sought to trace out the proceeding in detail in my history of Louis XIII.

The Queen-mother, Mary of Medicis, caused proposals to be made through Charles I. for her return to France. Charles was answered, this was a family affair. It was wished that the Queen should go to Florence, and that the King of England should not receive her in his dominions. In another letter Charles endeavoured to confute this, and concluded with these words†. However the case may be, the King of Great Britain is determined to remain free, and cannot suffer any to prescribe to him what he is to do, and how he is to govern in his dominions. Louis XIII., or rather Richelieu in his name, answered upon this: "The answer to the King of England's letter upon the return of the Queen-mother to France is very easy to indite, as it consists in the

* Procès de Marillac. Chambre du Levant. Vol. 193, 194. MSS. de la Bibl. Roy. I. p. 51, 54, 222.

† St. Germain MSS. Vol. 741. Apparently of 1637.

last words of that letter itself," however the case may be, &c. &c. This is so just that no one ever thought of laying down contrary doctrine, knowing, as we all do, how jealous kings should be of their dignity. On the same grounds, however, the King of France wishes that the decision upon the case of his mother should be left to him alone, in which matter he will, according to the goodness of his nature, weigh what is due to her and to the kingdom. In any case he will grant her every thing which can reasonably be demanded.

There are two special causes which form objection to her return. The King is aware that the Spaniards, after discovering that they cannot turn her personal presence in Spain to the account they expected, wish for nothing more anxiously than to effect her re-establishment in France, in order to try whether they cannot the better, through her assistance, carry through their hostile schemes *. The King would betray an utter lack of judgment if, in the present posture of public affairs, he did not secure himself against so palpable a machination of the Spaniards. If, how-

* Dupuy, Vol. 49, contains a detailed correspondence between Mary and the King, the reports of the Commissaires, &c.

ever, the Queen, as is alleged, have no other object than to free herself from their hands, she can choose no more honourable place of refuge than that of her birth, where the King will, in his kindness, contribute annually a greater sum for her satisfaction than she now receives from Spain.

A MS. upon the Assembly of the Notables in 1626* relates, that there were summoned: the Cardinal La Valette, two marshals, five archbishops, seven bishops, several knights of orders, councillors of state, of parliament, taxes and accounts, the Procureur, and the provost of the merchants; but not the magistrates of other towns. Those convened received daily thirty francs, the Cardinal sixty. Richelieu consulted them first upon all subjects of administration, and the questions and answers are recorded in detail. In the name of the noblesse many requests were preferred: privileges in the filling up of all places: establishment and endowment of a new order for the support of the poorer noblesse, prevention of the purchase of noble landed property by the roturiers, permission for the nobility to pursue commerce without prejudice to their privileges.

These and similar views and requests sickened a

* Dupuy, 287.

man of Richelieu's superior intelligence, of seeking information or advice from such sources. The advice he got was partial, inasmuch as the formal constitution of the assembly was partial, and totally void of the necessary balance.

LETTER XLVI.

Mazarin on the Fronde and the King's Journey from Paris.—
Negociations at Ruel.—Pretended Attack on the Prince of
Condé.

THE times of the Ligue and the Fronde present great analogies and dissimilarities which it is the province of the historian to unfold. During both these periods of disturbance, we meet with days of Barricades, but the latter not so dangerous as the earlier. The minister Brienne, at least in his letters to Grignon, French ambassador in London, represents the affair as unimportant, and the people as disinclined to follow their leaders. The conditions, received at first with joy, were afterwards found unsatisfactory, and the court therefore left the capital, January 6, 1649. Upon the course and the justification of this often impeached proceeding, Mazarin wrote, January 23, 1649, the following remarkable letter to the above-named Grignon. You already know from the letters

of Monsieur de Brienne, that the Queen has been compelled to leave Paris, and to secure the person of the King against certain sowers of dissension in the parliament. They purposed, (as we have discovered,) to make themselves masters of his person, by intelligences which they maintain with the enemies of the state, and at the same time by secret dealings with the people, all which has been further confirmed by subsequent events. In order then to cut off all means of injury from these raisers of disturbance, the King removed the parliament, but the younger advocates have hurried on the older against their will to disobedience, and to so open rebellion, that they levy forces, excite the people to revolt, and place the King under the disagreeable necessity of reducing the inhabitants of Paris to obedience by force.

There is not a good Frenchman whose heart does not bleed for so gross an attack upon the royal power, and that three or four seditious men should for their own advantage, bring the state from its high prosperity, to the verge of a precipice, unless God, who has hitherto protected the innocent King, should take him now under protection and avert so great a calamity. Yet this we may hope for from his goodness, from the military power at our disposal, as also from the union of the royal family ; although some princes and other great personages have embraced

on grounds of personal discontent, the party of the rebels. Thus, e. g., the Duke of Longueville because Havre, the Duke of Elbœuf because Montreuil, the Duke of Bouillon because Sedan were not respectively made over to them, the Coadjutor de Retz because he was not permitted to deal at his pleasure with Monsieur de Montbazon with respect to the government of Paris. The pretext of the parliament is, as it always is, derived from the ministry, but I hope without presumption that all good Frenchmen will think the persecution (of himself) highly unjust. The services rendered by me are so great and recent, that my enemies cannot deny them. I have, moreover, shewn myself so disinterested, that for six years during which I have occupied the place of first minister, I have taken nothing for myself or my relations, although the Queen wished to give me distinguished marks of her generosity, and the whole royal family sought to persuade me that I should not refuse them.

After all, God grant that my fall might contribute, if but a little, to the service of the King, as well as to the welfare and peace of the state. I would be the first to promote it with joy, and to see my profit in doing so, for I have hitherto sought after nothing but a little glory which I could obtain sooner this way than any other.

What wounds the hearts of their Majesties is that, they must turn their weapons against Frenchmen, and that the enemy gains by our disorders, nay, may, perhaps, obtain all the advantages of a long and glorious campaign. Then would the effusion of so much French blood and the expenditure of so much treasure be entirely useless, and we should be unable to conclude any peace with Spain which should ensure the integrity of our provinces and the old boundary of the Rhine.

Further on, Mazarin proceeds:—We hope that these commotions will soon terminate one way or another, and I would shed my blood for that object if this were possible, in fact, without prejudice to the King's dignity. No less am I willing from my heart to forgive all those who have persecuted me, although they know as well as I, that this has been carried on by the passion of a few men, with whose extravagant demands I have been unable to comply. Yet I must bear testimony to the Parliament of Paris, that it contains men of great prudence, zealously attached to the King, who sacrificed every thing to see him loved and respected.

I will add but two observations to this letter.

1st. It is not proved that they wished in Paris to seize the King's person; yet there are many grounds in excuse of the suspicion and apprehension of that

attempt, inasmuch as in England they at this time brought their King to the scaffold.

2nd. Mazarin was certainly less self-interested in these times than later, when he accumulated prodigious wealth, yet no consideration induced him to sacrifice that which he considered the true interest of his master.

March, 1649. The negociation at Ruel took place, which ended in a reconciliation of parties. When the deputies of the Parliament proceeded to attend the conference, they were detained at the gate of St. Honoré by the citizens, and strictly searched*.

Towards the close of the year new disturbances arose, and there is a MS. relation extant of what happened in Paris from December 11, 1649, to January 22, 1650†. I extract the following passages, which place in a new light the murderous attack upon Condé which ensued, and which separated him from Retz.

December 11, at eight in the evening, two bands of wool-spinners collected on the Pont Neuf, and fired upon one another with pistols. The residents

* Relation de l'audience du 5 Mars 1649, fait par Amelot, President des Aides. Dupuy, 754.

† Dupuy, 733.

of the Place du Dauphin and the neighbouring quays had a bell in the interior of that place for the prevention of robberies in that quarter, which bell they sounded on the first alarm of disturbance. Upon this occasion they seized their weapons in great haste in order to restore peace. It happened, however, at this period, that the carriage of the Prince of Condé drove by, just as the citizens were charging the wool-spinners and the mob. The latter thrust themselves, for their own safety, behind the carriage; and out of respect for the Prince, the citizens let it pass on undisturbed. In the carriage of the Marquis de Duras, which followed, was a lacquey, who let his legs dangle out at the door, and kept thrusting a lighted flambeau in the faces of the passers by. As he did this to a young citizen, the latter wounded him with a pistol shot. Two days afterwards another servant of Monsieur de Duras died, and they tried to pass him off for the one who had been wounded. In fact, however, the deceased had been wounded in quite another fray four days before, which he had provoked, after his habit. The lieutenant criminel has gone round the Place Dauphin, house by house, in order to procure reports favourable to those who have devised and conducted this mighty history. He found, however, the Burghers so unanimous in their report, that he

refused to take down their evidence in writing, as being useless for his purpose, but dismissed them all as ignorant of the facts*.

* March 28, 1833.

Upon the later history of France want of time prevented me from instituting enquiries. I, nevertheless, give the following from the diary of Hurel (Bachelier prieur de Montant). Bibl. Roy. 10356. Baluze 853.

February, 1689. Fifty unconverted Huguenots were arrested in the Vivarais for having attended an assembly. Whoever was detected in the actual commission of such an offence, was usually executed; any one convicted on subsequent evidence was sent to the galleys for life.

April 10, 1690, died the Dauphiness, a Bavarian princess. Inasmuch as she had been haughty to every one and tolerably avaricious, she was neither missed nor lamented by any one but the persons of her court, who lost their situations by her death.

END OF PART I.

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